



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Thursday
18 March 1993

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Cameroon

Opposition Parties To Boycott French Goods

AB1803104593 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] In Cameroon, the Union of Forces for Change [UFC], the radical opposition to the regime of Paul Biya, continues to put pressure on the Yaounde government. The cartel of the opposition parties which had supported the candidacy of John Fru Ndi in the 11 October 1992 presidential polls has decided to boycott French products in Cameroon. For the reasons behind this decision, listen to Jeannot Louboussi, one of the advisers of the Union of Democratic Forces [as heard] in Cameroon in a telephone interview with our reporter Raphael Mbadinga:

[Begin recording] [Louboussi] In view of Cameroon's political, economic, and social situation and considering the behavior of the French Government, which is making our people suffer, we have decided to boycott all French goods, starting with the Cameroon Breweries; oil companies such as BP, ELF, and Total; the Score and Monoprix supermarkets; French bakeries; and Renault, Peugeot, and Citroen car models. We shall no longer buy all these items. Banks such as the Cameroon Banking Company, Credit Lyonnais, the International Bank of Commerce and Industry in Cameroon, and Societe Generale de Banque du Cameroon; and the French Cultural Center will all be boycotted.

People are suffering in Cameroon while Mr. Biya (?is selling) our timber. Every day, at least 40 truckloads of timber leave the country, and Mr. Biya has dared to reduce salaries and is asking students to pay fees.

[Mbadinga] So, can we say that you are still making the same demands concerning the legitimacy of Mr. Biya's rule? Mr. Biya was reelected on 11 October, an electoral victory which the UFC has always contested.

[Louboussi] Yes, we are contesting his victory. Mr. Biya is not the head of state of Cameroonians. We have a head of state, and he is John Fru Ndi.

[Mbadinga] With which Western power does the UFC chose to be allied?

[Louboussi] We want to deal with all foreign countries but on sound bases. The UFC cannot do anything which is not in the people's interest. [end recording]

Rwanda

MOG Says RPF Returning to Pre-Offensive Positions

EA1703195293 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1115 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] In principle, the Rwandan Patriotic Front should have returned today to the positions it held before 8 February when it carried out an offensive against the entire frontline.

The Military Observer Group, MOG, says that the return has already started.

Events at Peace Talks Reviewed; Timetable Announced

EA1703172393 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 0430 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] Peace talks on the Rwandan conflict resumed in Arusha, Tanzania between the Rwandan Government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] on 16 March. Our special correspondent, Balthazar Nduwayezu, is on the line from Arusha:

[Nduwayezu] The opening ceremony was chaired by Ndugu [Brother] Joseph Rwegasira, the Tanzanian minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation, in the presence of the Tanzanian minister of state for defense, Abd al-Rahman Kinana, who represented the facilitator [Tanzanian President Mwinyi], as the foreign affairs minister is away for a certain period.

Minister Rwegasira, who recalled the outcome of the recent Dar es Salaam high-level meeting and described it as a seed for the [present] Arusha negotiations, said that his country would, as usual, spare no effort for the success of the present peace talks and urged the two sides to bear in mind that not only Rwandans but also the entire world had focused their attention at Arusha, expecting the signing of a peace agreement as an Easter gift.

During their speeches the heads of the two delegations, Foreign Minister Boniface Ngulinzira from the government delegation, and Pasteur Bizimungu of the RPF, insisted on thanking the country facilitator, that is Tanzania, as well as the observer countries and international bodies for their support for the negotiations and their patience.

Minister Ngulinzira said that his delegation came to the talks imbued with the spirit of the Dar es Salaam meeting at the end of which the two sides had reiterated their commitments to a negotiated political settlement, to respecting the agreements already signed and still to be signed, and had set a timetable for the present round of talks, due to end in a peace agreement at the beginning of April.

While addressing the three items on the agenda—namely the RPF's military integration, the repatriation of refugees, and the return to their homes of war-displaced people, Minister Ngulinzira said that it was extremely urgent to end the intolerable situation of those displaced by war. Speaking on the refugee problem, Minister Ngulinzira indicated that the Rwandan Government had already recognized their inalienable rights to return home and had undertaken to facilitate their settlement in host countries for those who wish to do so: two options which the government backs. The Rwandan Government considers naturalization to be a personal choice.

On the subject of integration [of RPF troops into Rwandan Army]; this is one of the means towards national reconciliation. [Ngulinzira said] military integration is one of the items to be touched on during the present negotiations. We have accepted its principle in the cease-fire agreement signed here in Arusha on 12 July 1992. The integration of two armies in conflict is considered to be a solution which is likely to put an end to conflicts between nationals of the same country. It is a very difficult duty which requires much faith and which is the very symbol of the spirit of national reconciliation which must come with the peace agreement. Thus this time we will have Rwandans, who instead of killing each other, will be reasonable enough to think that it is better for them to live together and concentrate on the development of their country under a democratic society.

Minister Ngulinzira ended his speech by saying that the peace desired by us did not only mean the end of hostilities but also the building of a society in which human rights are the basis of democracy, democracy the basis of peace, and peace the basis of development.

The head of the RPF delegation, Pasteur Bizimungu, for his part, insisted on clarifying three points: the recent cease-fire agreement violation, the massacre of civilians of which the RPF is accused and the United Nations forces which the Rwandan Government demands intervene in the conflict.

On the cease-fire violation, Pasteur Bizimungu said as usual that the recent attack was in retaliation for the massacres perpetrated in the country. He said that the return of refugees and RPF combatants joining the Rwandan Armed Forces could not be envisaged in a climate of insecurity and genocide, adding that this would show that the [previous] negotiations had been derisory.

Pasteur Bizimungu, however, said that in order to back up the resumption of talks and the spirit of confidence, the RPF had agreed to withdraw from the territories which it had occupied during the latest attacks and return to positions which it had held before 8 February, provided that the Rwandan Armed Forces remained where they were. Bizimungu indicated that the RPF's withdrawal did not, however, strip it of the right to have an eye on the zone between the two forces, especially where security and administration of the population was concerned. The RPF is thus willing to discuss with the

Rwandan Government how to handle and control the movement of people in the buffer zone.

On the massacres of civilians, the RPF does not deny that certain civilians died in these battles. However, it denies any responsibility. On the United Nations forces, the RPF would not like a force to be stationed on the Rwanda-Uganda border; this would be a plan aimed at weakening the RPF in order to destroy it, Pasteur Bizimungu added.

The representative of the UN secretary general, Mrs. Florence, indicated in her speech that the United Nations would not come to replace the OAU in the Rwandan conflict. The United Nations would come solely to back OAU initiatives and efforts and [she said that] this had been clarified in the recent UN Security Council resolutions. Balthazar Nduwayezu, Arusha, for radio Rwanda.

[Announcer] It is worth reporting that the two sides have set the following timetable: Direct talks between the two sides begin today, Wednesday, on military integration. From 26 to 31 March, the refugee and problems of those displaced by war will be examined. From 1 to 3 April, there will be a study of the problems left in abeyance, such as the duration of the transition period and its timetable, the harmonizing of the Constitution's text with that of the peace agreement and the peace agreement will be signed around 7 or 8 April.

Zaire

Conclave Elects Opposition Figure Prime Minister

AB1703224193 Dakar Radio Senegal in French
2200 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] Zaire has a new prime minister. The political conclave opened on 9 March by Marshal Mobutu to solve the Zairian crisis today elected Faustin Birandwa as the prime minister. He will succeed Etienne Tshisekedi, who was elected by the Zairian National Conference in August 1992 [words indistinct] by President Mobutu. Faustin Birandwa is a long-standing ally of Etienne Tshisekedi and is in the opposition against Marshal Mobutu. He was also one of the founders in 1980 of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress from which he was excluded on 1 March.

Ethiopia

Police Storm Airplane, Kill 2 Hijackers in Dire Dawa

AB1803111093 Paris AFP in English 1045 GMT
18 Mar 93

[Text] Addis Ababa, March 18 (AFP)—Police on Thursday [18 March] stormed a hijacked Ethiopian Airlines jet and killed two of the hijackers who had been holding the aircraft with 17 passengers hostage at the Dire Dawa airport since last Friday, airport officials said.

The officials did not provide any details about the police assault or whether any of the passengers had been injured.

The plane had taken off from the southwestern town of Gambela and was headed to the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa when the four or five hijackers, including a woman, ordered the pilot to change course and head southeast to Dire Dawa.

Fourteen of the passengers reportedly managed to escape Friday taking one of the hijackers with them. It was not clear what the hijackers were demanding but speculation was that they wanted to leave Ethiopia.

Airport and hospital sources said police staged the assault after negotiations between the government and the hijackers broke down.

Shortly before the assault, a resident of Dire Dawa contacted by telephone said the passengers' situation was "dramatic" with little food and no air conditioning.

Somalia

General's Forces Use Civilian Shields in Kismaayo Attack

EA1703212693 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali
1830 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] Morgan [General Mohamed Sa'id Hirsi Morgan] and his men attacked an occupied Kismaayo town on 16 March in the presence of the Unified Task Force [UNITAF]. The (?Information Ministry) has reported that Morgan's forces used women and children during the attack as a shield to prevent UNITAF forces from opening fire on them. This report was also confirmed by the BBC Somali Service report on the Kismaayo attack. Morgan clearly is using human beings as [word indistinct] as was used during World War II by troops who [word indistinct] to explode mines [word indistinct] so that they can get access to their target at the cost [word indistinct] this act by Morgan is the worst crime in history.

A report from Addis Ababa has indicated that the Somali National Alliance [SNA] group delegation walked out of reconciliation conference in Addis Ababa on hearing that criminal Morgan was once again allowed to enter and occupy Kismaayo town in the presence of UNITAF forces. The delegation said that they would return to the conference only under the condition of ensuring that the

cease-fire and peace agreed upon during the last Addis Ababa conference was abided by all parties concerned and that by ensuring the United Nations [sees to it] that Kismaayo is free from this new occupation which makes [words indistinct] January Addis Ababa agreement [word indistinct] was confirmed.

Oppositionist Seeks Islamic Government, Foreign Pullout

PM1703130593 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic
15 Mar 93 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with Abdirahman Sheikh Omar, member of the Somali Islamic Union Executive Committee, by Yusuf Khazim in Addis Ababa; date not given]

[Excerpts] A Somali "Islamic Union" leader has accused the United States of plundering his country's natural resources "right in front of the eyes of the starving." He demanded that all foreign forces withdraw from Somalia.

Abdirahman Sheikh Omar, member of the Union's Executive Committee, told AL-HAYAH on the eve of the Somali "national accord" conference to be held today in Addis Ababa that his faction will demand the formation of an Islamic government in Somalia. And that it will not participate in a government headed by any of the warlords, including interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed and Somali National Alliance leader General Mohamed Farah Aidid. [passage omitted]

In an interview with AL-HAYAH he said that the civil war "has created an enormous feeling of enmity among the factions and tribes. The warlords have differing interests and aims, and reconciling them is a difficult task and requires great efforts. This is why we do not expect the conference to produce important or major results."

Asked whether the Union would participate in a coalition government headed by a warlord, he said: "We are demanding the formation of an Islamic government which applies God's law. We believe that such a government is the only one which can resolve the crisis and eliminate all barriers separating Somalis. We do not make it conditional that we be represented in it. We will not participate in a government headed by any of the warlords. We set the condition that the head of the government adhere to Islamic rule. [passage omitted]

Asked whether the Union's participation in a conference sponsored by the United Nations means its agreement to the presence of international forces in Somalia, he said: "Our participation in the conference does not mean that we have abandoned our previous position, which rejects the foreign forces' intervention in our country. We still

believe that these forces do not serve Somalia's interests. The foreign forces' presence will be one of the issues to be discussed at the conference. We will present our position to the participants and demand the foreign forces' withdrawal from the country. This is because the U.S. forces are plundering Somalia's natural resources right in front of the eyes of starving Somalis and tribal fighting is raging right in front of the eyes of the international forces, but they are interested in nothing except securing the safety of the international organizations. Chaos dominated Mogadishu when I left it, and many areas are still witnessing tribal fighting, but the international forces have not budged. The international forces came and collected the arms from ordinary people and left the other arms in the hands of thieves and the militias. As a result, robbery and attacks on the ordinary people who have been disarmed have increased. And the U.S. forces have killed about 100 Somalis, among them a 13-year-old boy, since they entered the country in December."

Asked how and when the Americans plundered Somalia's resources and what resources have been plundered, he said: "Somalia has several areas rich in natural resources like precious metals and oil. And we have evidence that the Americans have stolen these resources from several locations: The first location is Burr Hakaba mountain near Baidoa, where U.S. companies are prospecting for precious metals and move them in huge sealed containers escorted by a large number of U.S. military vehicles.

"The second location is in the town of Shalaamboot in Lower Shebele area, some 70 km from Mogadishu. Five U.S. companies are moving sand containing precious metals under the protection of U.S. forces.

"The Americans are controlling the most important seaports and airports in Somalia and can steal whatever they want from the company without any observation. We have no government or authorities, and the people are preoccupied by the tragedies of war and starvation. The Americans are exploiting this situation."

He revealed that the oil company Conoco has been working "for a long time since the crisis to move oil from three locations in the northeast of the country. They are the Gharwi oilfield, Halhal oilfield in the town of Las Anod in the Sool area, and Loya Addei near the port of Seylac on the Djibouti-Somali border." [passage omitted]

Uganda

Museveni Receives Message From Zaire's Mobutu

EA1703120093 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 1000 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Excerpt] A special envoy of President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Mr. Mwankoto Jean, has delivered a special message from President Mobutu to President Yoweri Museveni. The message was received on behalf of the president by the second deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Paul Ssemogerere, in Kampala this morning. [passage omitted]

NRM Vice Chairman Meets DPRK Official

EA1703200393 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 1400 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Excerpt] The vice chairman of the National Resistance Movement [NRM], al-Haji Moses Kigongo, has met the North Korean ambassador to Uganda, Mr. Chon Kyong-chol, who called on him at his office in Kampala.

During the meeting, Ambassador Chon briefed the NRM vice chairman on the latest developments in his country and the entire Korean peninsula following the beginning of a joint military exercise between South Korea and the United States in South Korea, as well as the controversial decision of the International Atomic Energy Agency to send experts to inspect North Korean military installations in search of nuclear arms.

Al-Haji thanked the envoy for the detailed briefing and assured him of the movement's support of all the measures that will prevent the escalation of the conflict on the Korean peninsula. He reaffirmed the NRM administration's firm stand to resolve the Korean peninsula problem through peaceful negotiation. [passage omitted]

Modise Dismisses Report on Captured ANC Arms in Angola

MB1703143493 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 17 Mar 93

[From the "Channel Africa Report" program]

[Text] The head of the armed wing of the African National Congress, Joe Modise, has dismissed reports that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] has captured ANC [African National Congress] arms caches in Angola. Allison van Heerden asked him if the ANC still had weapons stockpiled in Angola.

[Begin recording] [Modise] Yes, we do have.

[Van Heerden] Is it possible then that UNITA soldiers could have uncovered these arms caches?

[Modise] No, they are at a place where they cannot uncover them. They are directly under the government's hands. They are in an area which is safe, which is directly under government control.

[Van Heerden] Are the government forces using these arms?

[Modise] No, the government has got its own arms.

[Van Heerden] So why have you placed them directly under MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] control?

[Modise] We've placed them there when we were still waging an armed struggle against this racist regime.

[Van Heerden] Are you saying there's absolutely no way—that they're fully under government control?

[Modise] Yes, the only way in which UNITA can lay its hands on those arms is when they have defeated the government of MPLA. They haven't done so. [end recording]

Document Discloses Alleged Arms Sales to Rwanda Military

MB1303110293 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 12-18 Mar 93 p 9

[Report by Eddie Koch: "SA support for Rwanda military"]

[Text] South Africa is providing the Rwanda army—which has massacred thousands of civilians—with military training.

Last week, THE WEEKLY MAIL reported South Africa was sending large quantities of arms to Rwanda. But it has emerged that there is much greater and more direct South African involvement.

"Rwanda and the RSA [Republic of South Africa] government are closely co-operating on security matters and Rwanda has a charge d'affaires either in Pretoria or in Johannesburg," says a secret intelligence document leaked to THE WEEKLY MAIL.

"Presently the head of Rwanda security and six more high level officials are in Pretoria for training by the SA security establishment. This is the second visit from them this year."

The report, which was drawn up on December last year, adds: "Early next year the SA government will send equipment and manpower to support their security forces."

A spokesman for the South African Defence Force denied the allegations, saying the SADF had never supplied training to members of the Rwandan military, either in South Africa or elsewhere.

A report released last week by the International Human Rights Federation says persecution of ethnic minorities in Rwanda, mainly by government troops, has claimed more than 2000 lives in two years of civil war.

SACOB, COSATU Spokesmen Discuss Budget Speech

MB1803085993 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Studio interview with South African Chamber of Business Director General Raymond Parsons in Cape Town, and Congress of South African Trade Unions spokesman Dr. Bernie Fanaroff by South African Broadcasting Corporation presenter Freek Robinson in Johannesburg on the "Agenda" program—live; italicized passages in English]

[Text] [Robinson] We are talking about the budget. We have just had an interview with Mr. Keys in Cape Town. He referred, amongst other things, to joint planning between the state and organized labor and business sectors. With me in the studio is a labor expert, Dr. Bernie Fanaroff from COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], and then in our Cape Town parliamentary studio we have a business expert, director general of the South African Chamber of Business, Mr. Raymond Parsons. Good evening to both of you. Mr. Parsons, I want to begin with you. We will begin with the last point made by Mr. Keys, the joint plan to include the business and labor sectors in economic policy planning. Are you in favor of this?

[Parsons] Yes, look Freek, it is very important. We have already worked on this. The National Economic Forum has been progressing for a good few months, aimed at addressing specific issues concerning policy, the budget—but obviously the minister has to eventually make decisions, but this participation is an important process to enable us to reach some form of consensus and to see, on the basis of that consensus, whether we can work together on the road ahead, especially on the economy, because we know, and this is very important, that we will not make progress on political issues if we do not have a strong economy with economic growth. That forum, as well as other forums such as the Housing Forum, is playing an important role in this transition period to gain a measure of consensus on the road ahead, on the economy.

[Robinson] Well thank you Mr. Parsons. Dr. Fanaroff, Mr. Keys even mentioned the possibility of having you as a full time partner in this cooperation, to plan a new economic policy. Are you prepared to do so?

[Fanaroff] Well, Freek, we've been very committed to the negotiations in the National Economic Forum, certainly. I think from our side we were keen to initiate that sort of discussion. We don't believe that it's gone far enough yet, obviously we would want to be able to bring together the discussions and forums like the National Housing Forum, as Mr. Keys has suggested, into the National Economic Forum, and come up with programs that we all agree to. I think we are committed to that.

[Robinson] And to have coresponsibility of the next budget?

[Fanaroff] Well coresponsibility depends also on the political process. Obviously, if there is a transition to a democratic government we will be involved in that and take responsibility.

[Robinson] Mr. Parsons, let us get to the details. Would you say that it is a good budget for the business world? There is at least a reduction in company tax. Do you think it will generate growth?

[Parsons] Freek, let me put it to you this way. Every budget has good news and bad news. There is a strong message in this specific budget and we also have to clearly understand the background to this budget.

We must understand we've been trying to launch the new South Africa on virtually a zero growth rate, with the unemployment and all the social problems that go with it. This budget is an effort through growth and discipline to lay the foundations for future growth, because if we don't get this economy moving we will not be able to address those issues in a satisfactory way. Now within that framework, of course there's room for some disagreement, precisely about the mix in the budget and we can no doubt discuss that, but quite clearly, if we don't lay these foundations now and we allow a future or a new government in South Africa to inherit a debt-ridden treasury then we're in for big trouble in the future, and what the minister's tried to do in his own way and in a creative way is to address these issues and to see whether, as a first step, and in terms of the economic model that was published last week, we can begin to lay the foundations for renewed growth in the future. But in the short term I'm afraid there are also some negative effects and that's the bad news, and we'll have to talk about that.

[Robinson] And that's VAT [Value-Added Tax] and so on, yes, could we ask Dr. Fanaroff: It seems to me that only business can be very joyful about this budget. What is your response to that particular announcement by the minister?

[Fanaroff] Well, it's clear that the person in the street has been hit very hard. The increase in VAT is going to hit people, the petrol price increase, the effective increase in personal tax also. What is happening is that the entire

burden of getting rid of the deficit is now falling onto the person in the street. We would feel that that's very unfair, for reasons that we can go into.

[Robinson] Yes, but could we just handle this one particular point? The minister said he wanted to bring down company tax, in particular, to stimulate growth in the country. Do you believe that is going to happen ... it will happen ... this is a positive thing?

[Fanaroff] One of the things that we think is problematic about the budget and about the Normative Economic Model, is that it doesn't seem to grasp what we believe is a crucial link between infrastructure, spending and investment, and long-term growth in industry. Simply to create so-called conditions for growth in the private sector, we believe is not adequate, because a record of business in putting investment into wealth creation has not been impressive. So, we believe that there's a lot that the National Economic Forum and others have to do to actually develop planning which can lead to much more systematic development of industry.

[Robinson] What, in particular, would you have liked to see?

[Fanaroff] Well, we believe that there's a need to spend more on basic things like housing and electrification. The minister has gone some way towards that. We need to go further.

[Robinson] But as a measure to promote growth?

[Fanaroff] As a measure to promote growth, yes. It will create a domestic market. It will stimulate industry. We believe it can also be the basis on which industry can restructure itself to become more competitive and to develop export markets. It's very difficult to restructure industry where you have a very small domestic market and that sort of infrastructure growth, to develop a local market, enables industry to restructure in negotiation with the other partners as Mr. Keys has said."

[Parsons] Freek if I can just come in here.

[Robinson] Yes, Mr. Parsons.

[Parsons] Freek, if I can come in here. Look, the whole space that the minister has to move in is determined by his control of state expenditure. And he has made a very positive attempt but I think everyone feels that it will have to be taken further, otherwise we will find ourselves with the same problem next year.

And I think the important point here is that more will have to be done on the government spending side, and assuming that if one does want to discipline government spending so that ...

[Robinson, interrupting] If you say more must be done, you mean in curbing the spending, or what?

[Parsons, continuing] Well it has to be curbed and it has to be re-prioritized but assuming that if one wants to go further down the road of being able to discipline government spending and change perceptions which are very

negative about government spending, then the structure has to be devised to drive that strategy and we will have to, among other things, revert to reconsolidating the Department of State Expenditure with the Department of Finance. It's obvious it was a mistake to divide those departments, because since then we have accumulated even bigger problems on the government spending side which we are only now beginning to bring under some control, but I think we'll have to merge those departments again if we want to be assured in the future that we are going to get government spending under control.

[Robinson] Mr. Parsons, before we go into government spending in detail could I just ask you to give us any other indication of growth measures that you would have liked to see in the budget?

[Parsons] Well, I think there are growth elements in the budget ...

[Robinson, interrupting] Yes, we know but ...

[Parsons, continuing] You know if we look at these incentives for the small business, for the companies, even for expenditure on housing, on education—these are all positive elements which could assist growth, but obviously, at the end of the day as I have said earlier ... good, it is important for us to do these things in the budget ...

It's important to get the economic fundamentals right but we also have to get the politics right otherwise you cannot translate this into the confidence that you would really like to see to enable this country to grow at three, four, five percent, and that's what we all want.

[Robinson] Alright, you have mentioned government expenditure, let's come to that. In particular, you've also mentioned the capital programs. Dr. Fanaroff, are you happy about those, in particular, and housing and health, also for small business, job creation—you are from labor so obviously that's your view?

[Fanaroff] I like the sentiment that the minister expressed. It's something that COSATU strongly supports and that is that the results of the negotiations in forums like the Housing Forum should, in future, form the basis for government budget allocations and those things. But I think that we are disappointed, for instance, the National Economic Forum and the Drought Forum had discussed a much larger sum for job creation programs ... work programs. We're disappointed with that. I think we're a bit disappointed with the housing allocation too. Our people on the Housing Forum had met with Mr. Keys and I think we're disappointed by what he was prepared to allocate.

[Robinson] There's always [pauses] there must always be some kind of a balance, of course, between expenditure and then also the revenue that the government receives from the public, from us, and how to spend that revenue and the more you spend, and I don't want to give a lecture or something, but on matters like housing and so on, the more the budget gets out of control. Mr. Parsons referred to that. So, would

you have preferred to see more expenditure on housing and where are you going to take it away from then?

[Fanaroff] Well, this raises the whole question of control of government spending. Mr. Parsons has already referred to the problem of the political perceptions. Certainly our constituency is extremely suspicious of corruption and mismanagement. It's one of the issues that we were very disappointed in, in Mr. Keys' budget speech and also in his interview, that he says in effect that we're exaggerating the amount of corruption and mismanagement. We don't believe that, that is true. We believe that there is a very large amount of waste and corruption in government. That has to be brought under control. Money can be saved there. There are also priorities. Money can be saved by moving faster in reincorporation of the Bantustans. Money can be saved in getting rid of the tricameral structures. There are a lot of apartheid structures left. There is a lot of waste in those. That needs to be got rid of. It would be very important, in our view, to do that as quickly as possible, to give money which can be used for the kind of capital expenditure we are talking about, but also there's a problem, not only with corruption but also in the approach to civil service spending. I think our view is that in many departments in the civil service there is a lack of management systems so that what the government has done to cut civil service spending is to say: We retrench five percent of workers, we give workers only a five percent increase and in effect a lot of services have been cut. Now we say: Put in proper management systems. You can save a lot of that money without retrenching people and give a decent wage and give a better service.

[Robinson] Mr. Parsons, can we hear what you have to say about this because Dr. Fanaroff says that we can save by stopping corruption, getting rid of apartheid and so on.

[Parsons] Yes, Freek I think more can be done on the state's side and we must look at the structures that will make this possible, bearing in mind that Mr. Keys has made great progress in this area, but if he did make further progress then we would not have had an increase in taxation.

So quite clearly we must understand that this budget will hurt, and if you want it to hurt more then we must disturb the balance between expenditure and taxation.

We must be under no misunderstanding. This budget is going to hurt. It's partly an exercise in how the pain should be distributed. But it's laying foundations. I think that's the way to look at it. It's a transitional budget in more ways than one, not only in the political sense but also in the economic sense. We want to lay certain foundations of growth and discipline, but that doesn't mean that in the short term it may not be damaging to certain sectors. Quite clearly a 14 percent VAT is going to hit certain sectors very hard and I think we have to recognise that and we have to recognise that it's a question of how you distribute the pain and whether that pain is related to a longer term objective. And I believe that a lot of the response must be based on the recognition that this is a

strategy that could work. It could work in the medium and long term, provided it is also supported by political progress.

[Robinson] Now we haven't dealt with the details of the petrol price rises and also the VAT, and so on, but it seems to me, as an ordinary taxpayer, that one would have liked to have seen a decrease in the direct taxation of fellows like us. Dr. Fanaroff?

[Fanaroff] I think Mr. Parsons has put his finger on a major problem—how the pain is distributed. Our constituency doesn't feel that they are responsible for the deficit. They lay the deficit at somebody else's door. Now we all agree that it's necessary to get the deficit under control. Our view is that if there is a program which can, in a reasonable period of time remove that deficit, the World Bank and the IMF will accept that. They won't isolate us as being irresponsible, so we don't believe we have to do it all now. Secondly, the VAT increase, for instance, which is now 14 percent, raises a real problem. When VAT was introduced to the Margo Commission, the Margo Commission members accepted it on the basis it would be much less than GST [General Sales Tax]. Now it's the same as GST. We were told when VAT was introduced it was to lower consumer prices and to facilitate manufacturing. Now it quite clearly is just a revenue gathering measure, and if the DP [Democratic Party] is correct in saying that 5 billion rand has been wasted over 18 months, that's equivalent to about 3.5 percent on the VAT rate, in other words, you didn't need to put it on. So, the problem is exactly where does the pain go to, and it looks to us as if, unfortunately, most of the pain is going to the people who can least afford it."

[Parsons] But Freek ...

[Robinson] I am very sorry Mr. Parsons. We are going to have to end our discussion here. All of us will feel a little pain as a result of this budget. Thank you in any case for your contribution. We hope that there will be more positive developments and that there will be economic growth because we all need it badly. Thank you for your participation. Until next time. Goodbye.

State To Offer Homelands Reincorporation 'Special Status'

MB1703190693 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
17 Mar 93 p 1

[Report by Esther Waugh: "New Homelands Plan"]

[Text] The Government is considering a carrot-and-stick approach towards homelands still unwilling to rejoin South Africa—offering them "special status" if they soften their opposition, and threatening a subsidy cut-off if they do not.

It is understood that Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu in particular might be offered the "special status" incentive to induce them to agree to reincorporation.

Government strategists are working on the idea to persuade those homelands and self-governing territories which are resisting reincorporation to make the move voluntarily.

Sources close to negotiations say, however, that punitive actions are also being considered should the territories refuse to budge from their recalcitrant stances.

THE STAR was told that if the "special status" offer—as yet undefined—did not produce results, Government would consider withdrawing grants, seconded civil servants and SADF [South African Defence Force] officers, and end customs rebates.

At Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], Government wanted the reincorporation of homelands and self-governing territories to be dependent on the testing of the will of these citizens by means of referendums.

But the Government now believes reincorporation should go ahead regardless.

Observers believe the Government's "special status" idea might have prompted a statement last Thursday from Inkatha Freedom Party leader and kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthezi, who said Pretoria should accept "the need for the kind of asymmetry which will be needed to accommodate the regional realities of the kwaZulu/Natal region".

He added: "It is a fact that no two regions in South Africa are the same and that no two regions will ever be the same in a new South Africa."

Although the Bophuthatswana Government committed itself to the negotiations process at the multiparty planning conference on March 6, the homeland's president Lucas Mangope said on Monday that his country was unwilling to go "blindly" into a situation where a constitution would be determined after elections.

At a meeting with the ANC [African National Congress] this month the Government said it was prepared to restore South African citizenship to residents these areas provided they were prepared to be reincorporated immediately. The ANC has rejected the proposal.

ANC, IFP Joint Structure To Monitor 21 Mar Rallies

MB1803095893 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0945 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Text] Johannesburg March 18 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] and Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region have agreed to establish a joint monitoring structure to try to prevent violence at two rallies on the East Rand on Sunday [21 March], spokesmen for the organisations said.

If successful, the measure would be "a signal and major victory for political tolerance in the region", ANC PWV Spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said on Thursday.

His view was echoed by IFP central committee member Temba Khoza, who said the step indicated willingness on both sides to stop political violence.

The joint monitoring of the ANC rally in Katlehong and the IFP gathering in Vosloorus was agreed by the PWV regional dispute resolution committee, the spokesmen said.

Police and independent monitors would be involved, and routes for the marches to the rallies would be determined beforehand, Mr Mamoepa said.

In practical terms, an ANC monitor would join an IFP representative, independent observers and police to oversee the IFP rally, and vice versa, Mr Khoza said.

The main aim was to keep channels of communication between all parties open during the proceedings, he added.

The IFP rally in Vosloorus is to be addressed by Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

ANC national executive committee member and South African Communist Party executive in the western cape, Cheryl Carolus, will speak at the ANC's meeting at Hunterfield Stadium in Katlehong. Plans for ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa to address the gathering were not confirmed on Thursday, Mr Mamoepa said.

The ANC PWV region will launch its election drive on Sunday at 10 separate rallies to be held in Soweto, Tembisa, Alexandra, Randfontein, Sharpeville, Daveyton, Katlehong, Warmbaths, Garakuwa and kwaNdebele.

Mr Mamoepa said ANC representatives would begin campaigning door-to-door immediately after the rallies.

Mr Mamoepa said the ANC planned to target other population groups later, and would adapt its campaign to suit different communities.

Whites in Johannesburg can expect to be treated to banquets, breakfasts and tea parties by the ANC in the run-up to elections, he said.

ILANGA Calls For Goldstone Inquiry Into Natal Massacres

MB1703171793 Durban ILANGA in Zulu 11-13 Mar 93 p 5

[From the "Comment and Opinion" page: "Time for Goldstone to investigate"—article published in English]

[Text] The series of massacres in the Table Mountain area near Pietermaritzburg highlight the total failure of South African society to come to grips with the situation that has prevailed in Natal for many years now. Where are the instant demands for the Goldstone Commission to enquire into the massacres in Natal?

Instead the Goldstone Commission refuses to investigate specific instances of violence. What is the rationale behind this decision? The Boipatong massacre was investigated. The Bisho shootings were investigated.

Should not immediate investigations be instituted into another spate of massacres and killings that have occurred in KwaZulu-Natal?

Unless there is an in-depth enquiry into all aspects of violence in KwaZulu-Natal up to and including its origins in the campaign to make South Africa ungovernable, there is little chance that the public at large will understand what is happening. The Goldstone Commission must institute an enquiry into massacres in Natal at once.

KwaZulu-Natal Reiterates Right To Determine Destiny

MB1703170393 Durban ILANGA in Zulu 11-13 Mar 93 p 5

[Form the "Comment and Opinion" page: "Thank you Cyril, but no thank you"—article published in English]

[Text] Last week-end Cyril Ramaphosa, the Secretary-General of the ANC [African National Congress], is reported to have predicted that the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] would be pleasantly surprised at the new policy of the ANC on regionalism.

The National Chairman of the IFP has expressed interest in the detailed plans of the ANC. We can only hope that the plan proposed by the ANC will reflect the aspirations of the people for full democratic participation.

The creation of strong federal states/regions is an important aspect of freedom and democracy. Freedom and democracy are not a privilege granted to the people as a favour from on high. Federalism is an elaborate series of checks and balances and a limit on the power of centralised government.

In a federal republic the constitution is sovereign as distinct from the sovereignty of a house of parliament. An independent judiciary has the power to declare an act of parliament unconstitutional and therefore invalid. A Bill of Rights justiciable in the courts; states/regions with original powers entrenched in the federal constitution and in their own state constitutions; pluralism in civic society.

The above are characteristics of a truly democratic order which simply cannot be bestowed by any centralised constitution-making body in which decisions are taken by majority vote and not by consensus.

What happens if a centralised constituent assembly by a two thirds majority vote decides on legal and constitutional conditions which nobody in KwaZulu-Natal wants? If the entire population of KwaZulu-Natal rejects what a constituent assembly prescribes, the ANC and its allies say the decision is binding on KwaZulu-Natal regardless. What sort of democracy is that?

The Catholics of Northern Ireland are less than one percent of the population of Great Britain. They are continuing to fight for a different constitutional dispensation because they do not accept the right of the majority to prescribe for them.

The People in KwaZulu-Natal are 27 percent of the South African population. It is vital for future stability that they must participate fully in the fashioning of the new constitution of South Africa from the ground floor.

To offer the people of KwaZulu-Natal the gift of a pleasant constitutional surprise, however well-intentioned, runs counter to their democratic right to determine their own destiny.

Norway Lifts Trade Sanctions Against Country

MB1603091893 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 16 Mar 93

[Text] Norway has lifted its trade sanctions against South Africa because of the progress made in efforts to replace apartheid with democracy in this country. A Norwegian Foreign Ministry spokesman said trade and investment sanctions had been lifted, although Norway would continue to abide by United Nations embargoes on the sale of petroleum and arms to South Africa.

In January Norway restored full diplomatic relations with South Africa. Norway has said it will monitor developments in South Africa and maintain pressure to keep reforms moving toward a multiracial democratic government.

PAC Criticizes Move

MB1703100093 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0500 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] The Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC], has criticized Norway for lifting economic sanctions against South Africa. The PAC says sanctions are still needed to ensure genuine negotiations take place, and South Africa's conflict is resolved. It says although Norway has supported the struggle against apartheid, the struggle isn't over.

Winnie Mandela, SACP's Hani Reportedly Forming New Party

MB1703122293 Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 14 Mar 93 p 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Appeal by Estranged Wife of Mandela in 10 Days, Still ..."—"Something's Brewing Around Winnie"]

[Excerpts] Mrs. Winifred Mandela, estranged wife of Mr. Nelson Mandela, has apparently already applied for membership of the South African Communist Party [SACP].

If her application has not yet been accepted, people in ANC [African National Congress] circles believe that she "will not have any problems in obtaining membership." But then a big headache awaits the ANC leadership.

Although the SACP is in alliance with the ANC, her supposed membership increases suspicions of a new party being formed: The South African Communist Party in a somewhat different shape and under a new name.

More than a month ago Mrs. Mandela sharply criticized the ANC leadership for deviating from the ANC-road.

During this time there were also reports on the formation of a new party—the communists under a new name—who eventually want to take control under the leadership of Mr. Chris Hani, Mrs. Mandela and others. Mr. Hani has denied that he made such remarks to the British SUNDAY TIMES.

However, concerned sources within the ANC told RAPPORT this week that these are not idle rumors: "We now accept that these stories are 90 percent true. If Mr. Hani, Mrs. Mandela and several unions form an alliance, then we foresee problems, not only for the ANC-alliance but for the whole of South Africa. The strategy employed by the new radical alliance will include, at first, remaining within the ANC."

Of cardinal importance to the whole "Winnie agenda" is apparently Mrs. Mandela's forthcoming appeal, to come before the Bloemfontein Appeal Court from 24-26 March. Mrs. Mandela is appealing against her sentence of six years imprisonment on abduction and assault charges.

Moderate sources within the ANC say that Mrs. Mandela will be in a stronger political position after the appeal, no matter what the outcome is. Her supporters will exploit the verdict politically and emotionally so that she can gain considerable support. [passage omitted]

Mrs. Mandela has strong support among women in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] area, especially in large squatter communities. Support for her is growing steadily among the ANC youth. If a new party is launched then youth leaders like Mr. Peter Mokaba and Rapu Molekane will feature prominently, also Dr. Aaron Ndlovu of northern Natal.

Moderates merely shrug their shoulders when asked how Mr. Nelson Mandela feels about this. They, as well as Mr. Mandela are apparently adopting a wait-and-see attitude, while remaining on their guard. After Mrs. Mandela initially "let her tongue slip," she is now playing her cards carefully. There is widespread speculation about her fate among her opponents.

At the time of going to press neither Mrs. Mandela nor Mr. Hani could be reached for comment.

SACP Spokesman Denies Membership

MB1703055593 Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 15 Mar 93 p 2

[Report by Andries Cornelissen: "Winnie Mandela is not a member of the SACP says Jeremy Cronin"]

[Text] Mrs. Winnie Mandela is not a member of the South African Communist Party [SACP], and as far as he is aware, she has never applied for membership of the party, says SACP Executive Committee member Mr. Jeremy Cronin.

Mr. Cronin was reacting to a report in a Sunday newspaper that Mrs. Mandela had applied for membership in the SACP. According to Mr. Cronin, rumors are being circulated but they are not backed by facts. "The newspaper did not even take the trouble to call the SACP to try to confirm the reports," he said.

The allegation about Mrs. Mandela's application follows a few weeks after Mr. Chris Hani was quoted by the London SUNDAY TIMES as having said that he and Mrs. Mandela were going to establish a "new" party with trade union cooperation. Mr. Hani denied that report, saying he had been misquoted.

The Sunday newspaper also reported that according to "concerned" sources within the ANC [African National Congress], they can assume that the reports are 90 percent correct. And should Mr. Hani, Mrs. Mandela, and a number of trade unions form an alliance, it means problems—not just for the ANC alliance, but for all of South Africa.

ANC spokesperson Miss Gill Marcus said yesterday that the organization cannot react to anonymous sources. According to Miss Marcus, everyone is free to join the political party of his or her choice. The reports are pure speculation, she said.

Mr. Cronin said the alliance with the ANC is alive and well and the new claims are simply aimed at drawing the attention of the media to Mrs. Mandela's forthcoming appeal in court.

—Mrs. Mandela's appeal will be heard by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein from 24th to 26th March.

Cosag Chairman on 13 Mar Meeting, CP Participation

*MB1303134693 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1121 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the Information Service of Bophuthatswana on behalf of Cosag 13 March 1993]

[Text] The Concerned Southern African Group (Cosag) held its most successful meeting yet at a coastal resort in the Ciskei this weekend.

Nominated spokesman Rowan Cronje said the participants showed the greatest possible degree of unanimity and solidarity on all the main issues.

"The meeting made such good progress that it is to be followed by a two-day conference in Pretoria on Tuesday and Wednesday next week (16 and 17 March) to build on the solid foundations laid yesterday and today, and to finalise positions and strategies for the upcoming multi-party conference," Mr Cronje said.

The weekend conference saw detailed assessment and analysis of last weekend's multi-party planning conference, while agreement was also reached on all the main issues connected to the negotiation process.

"To say that we are delighted with the progress made and the spirit of solidarity achieved here is to understate the matter. There is a newfound confidence and determination amongst us which will be reflected for all to see in the upcoming weeks and months," Mr Cronje said.

He added that certain political elements were trying to create the impression that a rift had developed between the Conservative Party and the rest of the Cosag members.

"This is blatant political mischief-making with no substance whatsoever. The Conservative Party attended this weekend's Cosag meeting in full force and continues to make a meaningful and much appreciated contribution," Mr Cronje said.

Minister on National Forum for Local Government

*MB1803082993 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0755 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Cape Town March 18 SAPA—The coming into being of a national forum for local government on March 22 could become a milestone in municipal affairs, the minister of local government, Dr Tertius Delpot, said on Thursday [18 March].

Opening the 62nd Congress of the United Municipal Executive in Cape Town, he said the new forum would have to meet certain expectations.

It would have to make a contribution to the development and implementation of stable, non-racial, viable local government authorities with strong and healthy administration.

The solving of the on-going rent and services money, boycotts and associated problems as well as the establishment of the universal principle of payment for delivered services was a challenge from which the forum would not be able to escape.

Dr Delpot said the forum was not the negotiating forum for local government matters.

Constitutional reform remained the task of the national negotiating forum, also as far as third-tier level government was concerned.

The forum was not portrayed as a democratically-representative body—it had to earn its own legitimacy.

On the road ahead, Dr Delpot said constitutional reform had gained a momentum of its own.

"I have therefore requested my department to advise me on a process that can be put on the table for negotiation.

"A salient feature of such a process will obviously be the disappearance of management committees and local affairs committees as separate entities and the creation of one single council for the whole of the jurisdictional area of a municipality."

A process should be worked out that would allow for the merger of different local authorities.

"At present we are in the process of consultation in order to finalise a package of reform measures to be tabled in the negotiation process," Dr Delpoit said.

"We do this as a matter of urgency because I do not see municipal elections presently scheduled for 1994 to take place under the existing system. We shall soon be in a position to advise local government on the question whether preparatory steps in this regard should be taken."

The government had now taken the important step to do away with the Own Affairs concept as regards local government affairs.

The time was thus ripe for organised local government to follow suit.

Afrikaner National Union's Impact at Conference Eyed

MB1803073893 Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD in Afrikaans 12-18 Mar 93 p 9

[Article by Hennie Serfontein: "Who said No Rightwing Boers Could Negotiate?"]

[Text] The intimate little meetings, undercurrents, and body language at last week's two-day planning conference on negotiations was almost more illuminating than the single decision to call a multiparty forum not later than 5 April.

For the first time the whole spectrum of Afrikaner politics was represented at the negotiation forum. From the left was Carl Niehaus as media person for the ANC [African National Congress], Dene Smuts was part of the Democratic Party team, and then of course representatives of the government and the National Party; the Afrikaner Volksunie [Afrikaner National Union—AVU] and the Conservative Party [CP].

Eyes were especially focused on the AVU and the CP as it was the first time that rightwing parties participated in negotiations.

The surprise was the AVU. This young rightwing group made great impact in both open and closed discussions, while its leader, Andries Beyers, was regarded as "star of the conference" by many of the other parties.

As a matter of fact, at a reflection meeting held by the ANC's negotiating team late on Saturday afternoon, the role and the contributions by the AVU and its leader Andries Beyers were singled out as one of the most significant events at the conference.

"Their body language, their personal interaction with all the delegates across the whole spectrum, proves that they understand negotiation dynamics and culture, and consequently have become an important part of the negotiation process," a senior member of the ANC delegation noted in unison

with others, to VRYE WEEKBLAD. Spokesmen from other parties commented in similar fashion.

What was really impressive was the reconciliatory and yet positively pro-Afrikaner speech made by Beyers on Friday when he said the AVU had succeeded in "bringing to the negotiation table a significant part of the Afrikaner."

He emphasised that the Afrikaner's right to self-determination and claims to a predominantly Afrikaner state within a federal context can only be reached through negotiations.

Most of the delegations were obviously surprised by the AVU's view that they plainly "reject all forms of racism and statutory racial discrimination" and therefore will not tolerate any apartheid in the envisaged predominantly Afrikaner state.

An important aspect of Beyers's speech which passed unnoticed, is that the AVU accepts a "federal system", and no longer a confederal system like the CP.

After the Beyers speech, ANC members who had been sitting right next to the AVU, congratulated him cordially and shook hands with him.

The experience gained by the AVU over the last eight weeks during bilateral discussions which also included the ANC's top leadership, was evident in the party delegates' comfortable association.

During the preparation for the planning conference, the AVU rendered an important contribution. Chris de Jager, MP for Bethal, was for instance one of the seven who were initially appointed by the launch committee as chairmen. He was also chairman at various discussions on the facilitating committee or its sub-committee.

During an argument when the Pan-Africanist Congress's Benny Alexander insisted on knowing what the concept "sufficient consensus" meant, De Jager chopped back with: "Sufficient consensus exists if you and I agree." Everyone laughed.

The CP on the contrary, seemed clumsy, always on the defensive, visibly ill at ease, and completely not at home. Some of the journalists called them "dinosaurs". One in fact felt sorry for them.

The CP tried their best to, where possible, avoid people from the ANC and the SACP [South African Communist Party]. And yet they did, when there was no other way out, shake hands politely, like when Ferdi Hartzenberg and Carl Niehaus who were in each other's way in the passage. But in the dining hall, the CP, unlike the other delegates who mingled, sat alone at the table, an island indeed.

The CP's body language spelt the message out very clearly: We do not want to be here, and we are going to do our best to doom it to failure.

In contrast to Beyers, Langley's speech during the open session was aggressive. References to the Anglo-Boer War was enough warning that the CP was keeping the violence option open. During a news conference at the end, Langley lashed viciously at the ANC—which really made the CP's presence at the conference a mockery.

Langley called the ANC a "terrorist organization", and stressed that "at this stage we have nothing to talk to the ANC about." Ferdi Hartzenberg, CP deputy leader who was sitting next to Langley, quickly bowed forward and whispered to him: "We also have absolutely nothing to say to them", which Langley in turn repeated.

In fact, Hartzenberg walked around everywhere with a cloud on his face, reminding one of a smoldering volcano. He looked like a cornered tiger with a wagging tail, waiting to pounce.

In his speech two hours earlier in the conference room, where the CP abstained from voting so as to "keep all options open", Hartzenberg did not attack the ANC in their presence.

Since the conference, CP contradictions and ambivalences are increasingly coming to the fore more strongly than ever. Hartzenberg and Langley emphasized: Even if they abstain from voting, they will remain member to the facilitating committee which arranges the multiparty conference. But whether they were going to participate or not, they would not say.

On Monday this week, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said there was no plan to withdraw from the negotiations, but he doubts whether such divergent groups could ever reach consensus.

On Tuesday an outraged Hartzenberg, who apparently wanted to get rid of his frustrations, appealed to the government to stop the "farical negotiations", but confirmed that the CP will at the same time remain part of further planning of negotiations.

The main reason why the CP is swallowing the bitter pill, became clear during the planning conference. It was the AVU's presence which forced the CP to the conference table.

Then there are the fears that the AVU is in the process of stealing the CP's thunder from Afrikaners. The CP is evidently afraid that the AVU and Beyers are going to succeed in coming to be seen as the real representatives of "conservative peace loving Afrikaners" at the negotiation table.

The danger can be seen that the CP's current obstruction tactics may just manage not only to keep the CP away from the negotiation arena, but could also cause many CP members to vote for the AVU in the first election.

One delegate, strategically placed halfway between the AVU and CP tables, said to VRYE WEEKBLAD: "The CP's antipathy toward the AVU could be clearly seen when Beyers delivered his speech. As if they have something

heavy on their minds, they all sat, except Corne Mulder, with their heads down, their chins on their ties. As if they did not want to see with open eyes the impact which Beyers, with his statesman-like speech, was making.

Union Says QwaQwa Police Used Live Ammunition

*MB1803121193 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1129 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Phuthaditjhaba March 18 SAPA—The Orange Free State region of the South African Democratic Teachers Union [SADTU] on Thursday [18 March] accused QwaQwa police of using live ammunition on "peaceful demonstrators" in Phuthaditjhaba on Wednesday [17 March].

The accusation was immediately rejected by a senior policeman.

In a statement in Phuthaditjhaba, SADTU Regional Chairman Lukie Nkonka said members of SADTU were attacked while staging a peaceful demonstration against unilateral restructuring of education in the QwaQwa homeland.

He said the action indicated that the "apartheid police force" did not know how to maintain law and order, but abused its powers in attacking teachers and pupils with live ammunition and teargas to "crush the forces of peace and democracy".

Mr Nkonka claimed more than 14 members of SADTU were injured in the attack and that two had to be taken to hospital.

He accused senior police officials of failing to warn the crowd before moving against it.

QwaQwa police spokesman Capt Walter Mofolo denied live ammunition had been used to disperse the crowd. He said only teargas was used.

Capt Mofolo said although police could not rule out the possibility of people having been injured while running away from the teargas, there had been no reports of such injuries.

He said the crowd, which included members of the Witsieshoek Unemployment Association and school pupils, was warned before the teargas was sprayed.

Capt Mofolo said the unemployed group, in the company of pupils, had earlier marched to government offices in Phuthaditjhaba where they handed over a memorandum and left peacefully.

The group later joined teachers picketing offices a few blocks away and blocked the road.

When police asked the protesters to leave, they refused and sat down in the middle of the road.

"This was when police warned them that action would be taken and teargas was sprayed," he said.

**Council's Ranchod Seeks Public Service
Corrective Action***MB1803121093 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1100 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] The House of Delegates says it intends doing everything in its power to institute corrective action in the public service. The chairman of the Ministers' Council, Dr. Bhadra Ranchod, said at a news conference in Cape Town that there were too few Indian employees in senior positions in the public service. His aim, he said, was not a policy of reverse racism but it was important that the public service, in accordance with the government's proposals, should become more representative of the population composition.

Peace Accord Committee Unveils Official Symbols*MB1803091993 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0859 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Johannesburg March 18 SAPA—The marketing committee of the National Peace Accord on Thursday [18 March] unveiled at the Afrika Cultural Centre in Johannesburg the official peace symbols for South Africa.

After exhaustive research, the dove was found to be the most suitable. But many people felt a single dove meant bad luck, and to some it was a symbol of loneliness and selfishness.

Two doves, one white and the other blue, were thus selected against a blue-rimmed background. The symbol shows the doves in full flight, the white dove with an olive branch in its beak.

National Peace Committee Chairman John Hall said South Africa needed a "peace psychosis".

"We need these symbols to focus on peace," he said.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, chairman of the Goldstone Commission, said the symbols were important especially now that South Africa had a "new atmosphere of peace".

The peace symbols could be marketed on bottle-tops and milk cartons to put across the message of peace, said National Peace Secretariat Chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

After the unveiling, three doves were set free by Mr Justice Goldstone, Mr Hall and Dr Gildenhuys.

Non-Gold Exports 'Expected To Rise'*MB1503111393 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 15 Mar 93 p 1, 2*

[By Tim Marsland]

[Text] Non-gold exports should rise 2.5 percent to 3 percent in real terms over the next 12 months, SAFTO [South African Foreign Trade Organization] said at the weekend.

Releasing a poll in which 100 of SA's [South Africa] top exporters took part, SAFTO said exporters were "cautiously optimistic" that export sales and orders would rise in the first quarter compared with the last three months of 1992.

The confidence was in line with the view that the US economy was recovering. In the past, the US served as "the locomotive of world economic growth". Other industrial nations would follow the upturn, which would improve demand for SA goods.

Exporters ranked uncompetitive prices as the main obstacle to growth, due largely to the effects of high local inflation. Some exporters "appeared to be experiencing difficulty in sourcing products at competitive prices".

"In this regard, the declining PPI [Producer Price Index] must be welcome news," SAFTO said.

Exporters also pointed out the global recession was forcing them to cut prices because of the increased competition.

Another area of concern was the declining exchange rate, which exporters felt was not falling fast enough to offset local inflation adequately.

Exporters complained about the high cost of transport, in particular the costs associated with moving goods from the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] area to Durban.

Uncertainty surrounding the future of GEIS [General Export Incentive Schemes] was also attracting attention and exporters complained of unpredictability in incentives policy.

A slight drop in unfilled orders was expected in the current quarter, which would level out over the next 12 months.

"This clearly reflects the current spare capacity in SA industry caused by the domestic recession, particularly seeing as it occurs when incoming orders are expected to rise simultaneously."

The point was reaffirmed by the expectation that stocks for export would climb slightly over the same period.

*** Minister on APLA Claims, Funding, Training***93AF0405C Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
28 Jan 93 p 11*

[Article by Ismail Lagardien]

[Text] The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) used disinformation to create an exaggerated picture of its own capabilities, according to the police.

The movement, however, was a real threat to peace and the established negotiations process, says Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel.

Apla's claims of having killed 500 security force members last year, if one interprets police statistics for 1992, verge on the incredible.

According to official Government statistics, only 226 members of the South African Police [SAP] had in fact died in 1992 from various causes, including accidents, while on duty.

Lieutenant-General Johan le Roux, of the SAP's Crime Combating and Investigation Division, said at the weekend that in eight instances only had Apla members been connected to the deaths.

"It is thus evident that Apla uses disinformation to create an exaggerated picture of its own capabilities," Le Roux said.

Apla does, however, remain a problem for the SAP, Mr Hernus Kriel said at the weekend.

Kriel believes that the nuisance factor Apla represents and the misery index which it influences will turn people against the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]. The movement did very little to speed the flow of negotiations in South Africa, he said.

Opposition to Negotiations

Kriel believes that the ANC [African National Congress] has left a vacuum on the extreme left where it once sat and that the PAC was, through Apla, trying to secure this position for itself by tapping the support of people who are opposed to negotiations.

According to SAP intelligence, Apla decided early in January that its cadres would lie low while interest in its activities was high and while civilians were busy arming themselves.

But as soon as things were "back to normal," Apla would strike again, Kriel said.

Kriel's intelligence on Apla appears to be thorough and covers funding, training and operations.

The SAP believes, for example, that Apla received R14 million from the Libyan government during 1991 and that the PAC's military wing was operating from at least 10 bases in Transkei and Ciskei.

While the Government knew where these bases were it was difficult to launch pre-emptive strikes against them because they operated intermittently and arbitrarily, Kriel said.

"Our informants are not always at a phone when the bases are up and running," Kriel said.

A base, he said, was not a formal set-up with tents behind barbed wire fences and marching soldiers in uniform on the compound. It was more like a single house where individuals were handled briefly.

Military Training

It is estimated that Apla had about 120 cadres in these states. Military training still took place in Tanzania, Uganda, Libya, Egypt, Guinea, Zimbabwe and Iran.

"Although Apla's military operations are mainly planned in Zimbabwe and are to a certain extent coordinated under the control of Sabelo Phama, the territory of the Republic of Transkei is used for the training of Apla recruits and also as a platform for attacks, especially in South Africa," Le Roux said.

Since January 7 this year the SAP had investigated cases against 85 members of either Apla or the PAC for ordinary crimes relating from what Le Roux called "intimidation" to robbery, public violence, possession of unlicensed firearms and assaults.

* Details of Proposed Education Reforms Published

93AF0408C Cape Town THE ARGUS in English
26 Jan 93 p 1

[Article by Michael Morris]

[Text] The government is expected to scrap race-based education soon under the education renewal strategy unveiled today.

Minister of National Education Mr Piet Marais said today the far-reaching document, which provides for sweeping changes in education, had been approved by the Cabinet but decisions had yet to be made on implementing specific proposals contained in it.

"We are committed to doing away with racial discrimination in education and I can say that the start of that process will not be too far in the future.

"The President and the Cabinet have still to make decision on this.

"We do not need to wait for long for the racial elements to be removed, but other aspects will take some time to implement."

Mr Marais said changes in education would have to match constitutional developments, but the government was committed to seeking the co-operation of all role-players in bringing about constructive changes as quickly as possible.

The government was committed to a central education system with a national policy implemented by regional education departments. Mr Marais stressed that the government did not envisage racially-based departments.

He said that while communities could organise education on racial lines, his personal view was that it would not be possible in future for such schools to get funding from the government.

"I just regard it as realistic that there will be no place for discrimination on the basis of race. Future systems may be democratic and non-racial."

In terms of the strategy, regional authorities will get their own power and decision-making autonomy in a central education system.

This will promote national unity while allowing for particular religion, language and culture needs, the report says.

Compulsory education for all for at least nine years should be financed to the extent of about 95 percent by the State.

A "dramatic extension" of the role of distance education for teachers and senior secondary schools and a structured system of vocational education and training are also envisaged.

The report says a stream-lined and simpler qualification structure for teacher education needs to be developed, providing for a minimum of three years' appropriate teacher education after completion of the Senior Certificate.

Also envisaged is a system of "internship" during teacher training in line with other professions, and an extended role of technikons in teacher education.

A number of programmes at universities and technikons have to be re-allocated, where necessary, in line with existing general policy.

"This will eliminate unnecessary duplication and ensure greater cost-effectiveness."

A revised qualification structure for technikons, including the possibility of degree study in certain fields and an expanded role for technical colleges are also envisaged.

Technical colleges could function as transfer colleges to technikons by offering the first two years of tertiary study and bridging programmes to prepare students for university and technikon study.

Educational financing models show that a compulsory and mainly state-financed year of pre-school training is not attainable because of the large numbers of pupils involved.

A task force representative of all the major role players will nevertheless conduct a national investigation into providing pre-primary education.

Community involvement in education is essential to ensure an acceptance of the education system, the report says.

Plan at a Glance

Major recommendations include:

—Race should not feature in a future education system and educational opportunities must be just;

—A system of nine years' compulsory schooling financed largely by the State could be in place in a decade if certain structural changes are made to the education system;

—The demand for student places at universities and technikons means that a fresh look has to be taken at admission requirements, but setting stricter admission requirements is not feasible yet;

—The needs of children affected by political disturbances in schools could be met by establishing community colleges;

—Serving teachers with low qualifications and those with proven competency should be granted senior certificate status as a bridging measure to enable them to further their studies;

—The university and technikons advisory council should investigate the academic support and bridging programmes offered at these institutions and advise whether they should not rather be offered at other institutions.

* NECC Head Assesses State of Black Education

93AF0408A Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
29 Jan 93 p 12

[Article by Esma Anderson; italicized words as published]

[Text] Question: Can we still blame apartheid for the problems experienced in education?

Yes, definitely. The problems we have to deal with now are still essentially the same ones:

A total lack of management capacity to ensure that the system operates efficiently. This only exacerbates the lack of legitimacy that the Department of Education and Training faces, especially in the black community.

There is a serious shortage of qualified teachers in black schools, which is extremely ironic since the Government is retrenching thousands of highly qualified white teachers and wasting a very precious human resource which will cost the country dearly.

Black schools still experience a great shortage of educational resources, human, material and physical, and of basic teaching facilities.

Despite Government textbooks, blackboards, laboratories, libraries and classrooms, where the average teacher-pupil ratio is 40 or 60 to one in black schools, it is only 18 to one in white schools, where the classrooms have a capacity of 30.

This means there is on average a total of 12 seats open in each white classroom. There are still a lot of white schools standing empty, while in many rural areas children are still taught under trees because of the lack of classrooms.

Black teachers have to cope with the over-crowded classes while some of them still haven't received their salaries for months. They often have to wait two to three months to get paid.

All these factors culminate in a decline of the morale of pupils, teachers and parents. Students not only lose confidence in the system, but also in themselves as individuals. And even if they do pass examinations, they realise that their education does not guarantee them admission to a tertiary institution or future employment. criticised for aggravating an already unbearable situation.

Answer: We never call for students to take to the streets just for the sake of it.

People tend to think, when pupils and teachers do not embark on mass action, that there is learning taking place in the schools. This is far from the truth. It is usually the existence of circumstances that make learning impossible that leads to mass action in the first place.

The country should not run away from the fact that pupils and teachers have become impatient for fundamental change, that is why they are still pressurising the Government to address the injustices in black education. And if these imbalances and short-term needs are not addressed this year, we are likely to be heading for a complete collapse in black education.

Question: What is your organisation's contribution to alleviating the crisis?

When the NECC [National Education Crisis Committee] in 1985 we functioned as a crisis committee to interface grassroots structures and the state in the education crisis. But we soon realised that the major task facing the country was not just to resolve the crisis but to restructure and transform the education system in its totality.

That is why we have established Education Policy Units (EPUs) at the universities of Natal, UWC, Fort Hare and Wits. Their main task is to conduct research on future education policy for the whole country.

In addition we have also launched a People's Education Programme (PEP) aimed at embarking on grassroots-based educational debates on introducing qualitative changes in education. As part of PEP we have established subject commissions to conduct research and workshops on curriculum reform. Three books have been published by some of these committees on the subjects of mathematics, history and English.

Then we have also launched a programme called Educational Institutional Governance Programme to establish democratic structures of school governance, like the Parent Teachers Student Associations (PTSAs) who provide training for those involved in school management.

There is the Back to School Programme which provides extra tuition for students and produces alternative support material like study guides and past examination question papers.

Our Open Schools Programme was launched to advocate the opening of schools to all South Africans and to begin concretely to prepare for the establishment of a single education system that will bring totally new challenges to all of us in education and we have to be prepared for that.

But our major contribution was the launch of the National Education Policy Investigation, which was a two-year research project on future policy options for education.

*This article has been shortened and is published with permission from *The Vrye Weekblad-Sowetan* quarterly *State of the Nation* report.

* School Tactics of ANC-Cosas Members Criticized

93AF0408B Johannesburg THE STAR in English
21 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Article by Brian Sokutu]

[Text] When veteran Afrikaans teacher Cobus Smith says he is happy to teach in troubled Soweto, he means it.

The grey-haired tutor, who has taught at Phafagang Secondary School since 1982, refuses to balk at the renewed threat by radical youths to have white teachers removed from black schools.

The Azanian Students' Movement on Tuesday relaunched a campaign to drive out white teachers, saying black unemployed teachers should replace them.

Dressed in a grey safari suit, Smith (57) said confidently: "I'm happy to be in Phafagang. I'm not concerned about threats."

His ambition has always been to teach at a black school. He says he has never been threatened since he started working in the township.

The Florida Park resident is popular with township residents, and gets invited to many weddings and parties.

He speaks proudly of his school and pupils.

"Phalagang is the only black school that has produced a 100-percent matric pass rate in Afrikaans. I'm proud of my children."

His loyalty and enthusiasm are appreciated by his colleagues.

Said Phafagang deputy principal Kedibone Pelle: "We're all delighted to have him here. Since he joined us, everyone in the neighbourhood has grown to like him."

The University of Cape Town graduate spoke of his experience of playing rugby and soccer with blacks when he was still a schoolboy.

"When I was young I played and walked the streets of Cape Town with black friends.

"Since then I've seen no colour. It does not matter to me whether you're pink or yellow."

Smith, saying he was "not photogenic," refused to be photographed.

—Department of Education and Training spokesman Corrie Rademeyer said the DET did not have figures on unemployed black teachers.

According to the latest available DET figures, there were 735 whites teaching at black public schools in 1991 and 108 teaching at private schools, he said.

Schools Chaos Condemned

The ANC [African National Congress] yesterday condemned the disruption of schooling in Soweto and criticised this week's chasing away of teachers from some schools as "totally unacceptable."

Militant youths claiming to be members of the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Students (Cosas) on Monday chased principals and heads of departments from schools in the Tladi, Moletsane, Phiri, Mapetla and Naledi areas for "failure to enrol all pupils in the schools."

Frightened teachers have vowed not to return to their schools until their safety could be guaranteed.

ANC education spokesman John Samuels yesterday said "a greater involvement of parents" could resolve the crisis.

However, added Samuels, Government intervention in restoring order at the schools was "urgent."

Referring to over-crowding in black schools, the lack of books and other study facilities, Samuels said: "Schools have no resources."

"The Government is again reminded that it has to do something about the crisis."

The affected principals yesterday met Cosas leaders at Sekano Ntoane Secondary School in the township to arrange a meeting at the Chiawelo Adult Education Centre tomorrow, according to Naledi Area Principals' Forum chairman Percy Ntshingila.

Cosas was not available for comment.

A Soweto Education Crisis Committee meeting to which principals, the S.A. Democratic Teachers' Union, Cosas and the ANC had been attended, failed to take place yesterday.

* Police Head Provides Detailed Crime Statistics

93AF0409B Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL
in English 29 Jan 93 pp 42-43

[Text] Statistics released at a weekend press briefing in Knysna by S.A. Police Special Units head Maj-Gen Wouter Grove show that the PWV [Pretoria Witwatersrand Vereeniging] is by far the most crime-racked region in S.A.

But that comes as little surprise to residents who experience the situation daily. The bad news, according to Grove, is that there's no indication that the situation will improve in the short to medium term.

And there's little comfort in his disclosure that the incidence of reported crime countrywide increased by a mere 1.4 per cent from January-October last year (to a total of 1,436,930 cases) compared to the corresponding period in 1991.

Serious crime increased markedly over the period: armed robbery was up 21 per cent to 21,543 cases, murder up 7 per cent to 15,772 deaths, serious assault up 7 per cent to 107,588 cases, fraud up 7 per cent to 52,931 cases and rape up 7 per cent to 19,381 cases.

There was a marginal 0.8 per cent increase in cases of theft, which went up to 484,312 and the incidence of stock theft increased by 16 per cent to 21,072 cases, apparently due to the drought.

The only slight consolation is that housebreaking was down 3 per cent to 150,248 cases due to increased domestic security measures.

Grove says in 1991 (the most recent calendar year for which figures are available) 36 per cent of all serious crime occurred in the PWV, 18 per cent in the western Cape and 16 per cent in Natal. The trend, he says, continued last year.

Perhaps his most startling disclosure was that 80 per cent of all car thefts in the first 10 months of 1992 occurred on the Witwatersrand and in Soweto.

The development of sophisticated car security systems has not deterred thieves who now simply hijack vehicles at gunpoint when the owners stop at traffic signals or entrances to properties.

Political violence, while tending to grab media headlines, accounted for only 0.72 per cent of all reported crime from January-October and politically-motivated murders (2,049) made up only 13 per cent of total killings.

The crime rate has placed a massive work burden on the SAP [South African Police]. Members of the Murder & Robbery Unit, for instance, are each investigating an average of 30 cases a month and on January 1 this year, the 650-strong Commercial Branch was investigating 22,800 cases involving R3.6bn.

Grove says the SAP achieved a 53 per cent success rate in solving crime last year compared to 51 per cent in 1991. By comparison, Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe says in 1991-1992, the London Metropolitan Police solved only 14 per cent of reported robbery cases and 10 per cent of burglaries. They also had to deal with only 185 murders.

Head of Crime Prevention & Investigation Lt-Gen Johan le Roux says there was a slight decrease in

unrest-related incidents last year to 8,765 from 8,815 in 1991. Most incidents occurred in Natal and on the Witwatersrand.

A total of 2,204 incidents of unrest were aimed at members of the SAP and SADF [South African Defense Force], resulting in 226 police deaths and 363 injuries—the highest number of deaths and injuries in a single year in the history of the force.

Though Apla claimed responsibility for killing 500 members of the security forces last year, it has been positively linked to only eight deaths.

*** Statistics on Informal Housing Sector Given**

93AF0407C Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
13 Jan 93 p 6

[Article by Joshua Raboroko]

[Text] Informal housing is fast becoming recognised as an integral component of a national programme in South Africa.

It is essential, though, to ensure that this does not condemn people to live in poorly serviced shack settlements on the urban periphery for the rest of their lives.

The growth of informal housing caused by the massive migration to the cities has resulted in a significant decline in the level of services available to all but the best-off segment of the black population with formal housing.

By the year 2010 the World Bank estimates that 85 percent of South Africans will be living in the country's metropolitan areas.

To this end, two institutions—the Urban Foundation (UF) and the South African Housing Trust (SAHT)—have expressed serious concern at this nightmare facing South Africa.

The UF estimates that already more than 50 percent of the 5 million blacks in urban areas live in backyard shacks or squatter settlements.

It estimates that the housing backlog stood at 1.2 million units in 1991 and has increased to an estimated 1.4 million this year.

UF chief executive Mr Sam van Coller says: "The exploitation of low income families desperate to resolve their own housing needs is seriously undermining civil society.

SAHT acting director Mr JM Kahn says: "We have decided to concentrate our efforts in those areas where we can make a difference and add value, while remaining within the parameters of our mandate to create employment and enhance the provision of housing to the low income segment of the market."

In its annual report the UF says it is investigating ways in which the consolidation of informal settlements may be eased.

It says consolidation involves the incremental improvement of living conditions and the gradual integration of these settlements into the urban fabric by:

—Community mobilisation and organisation;

—Securing state commitment (investment in social services and physical infrastructure and urban management settlement); and

—Mobilising private investment in home-building credit provision, small business development.

The foundation's 1992 report shows that in the past year the Independent New Housing Company—a subsidiary of a Section 21 company—delivered 11,500 housing units and a turnover of R162 million on funding of R35 million.

It adds that the Independent Development Trust (IDT) has set aside funds for the training of consolidation co-ordinators and the trustees of community-based development trusts.

The foundation, as well as the SAHT, says the past year has again seen a steady decline in the low income housing sector.

In many respects the contributory factors remain the same—high risk, violence, conflict around key housing issues, threats of bond boycotts, a reluctance of financial institutions to provide loans in the low income market and a deepening of the recession.

In its annual report SAHT says about 9,500 houses were delivered through its involvement—21 percent down from 12,000 in 1991—which represents 63 percent of the national output to this market segment.

"I believe this environment will remain restrictive in the short term to medium term," Kahn says.

There had also been an increase in the number of people defaulting on their home loans, mainly because of rising unemployment and an increase in formal boycotts against all financial institutions in certain areas.

Private-sector lending in this market had dwindled to a trickle, while repossessions had increased.

The trust was involved in home loan finance through its wholly-owned subsidiary, Khayalitsha Home Loans. It had granted 6,500 new bonds by the year-end, down 2,000 on last year.

Of the 23,000 stands available for sale, only 64 were sold in the financial year.

"This restrictive environment is expected to continue through 1993 ... and will probably prevent us from granting more bonds in our traditional market, the R25,000 to R35,000 range, from current low levels."

The trust was acquiring land for development in traditional "white" areas, the first of these being in Midrand.

It was also talking to stokvel associations about exploring areas of mutual growth and opportunity but will probably take some time, according to the report.

"Any interaction would, however, have to provide a sound investment return," Kahn says.

* Black Economist Views Regional Integration

93AF0407B Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
28 Jan 93 p 10

[Article by Mzimkulu Malunga]

[Text] With South Africa's emergence from long years in the wilderness, the euphoria which prevailed two years ago about regional integration is steadily disappearing.

Fuelling the dampened mood on regional integration in the Southern African sub-continent is the recent failure of the two major economic groupings to merge.

The Southern African Development Community (SADC)—formerly known as SADCC—has ruled out any merger agreement with its sister organisation, the Preferential Trade Area for Southern and Eastern Africa (PTA).

Also, a study commissioned by the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) and conducted by Pretoria-based Africa Institute, cautions the enthusiasts for regional integration.

There is even a school of thought that South Africa need not join either of the PTA or SADC, a view rejected by a leading political economist and director for the Centre for African Studies, Mr Eugene Nyathi.

"Even though South Africa is the strongest economy in the region it should use that within the context of belonging. It is to our advantage to be part of both PTA and SADC," he says.

Belonging to the two can allay the fears of domination by this country's neighbours.

Products Not Competitive

South Africa's products are not competitive in places like Europe, but they are in Africa, so it makes sense to integrate this country's economy with the rest of the continent, argues Nyathi.

"South Africans should stop thinking we are some lost part of Europe," he says.

Turning to the PTA and SADC, he asserts the sooner these groups break the artificial divisions between them, the better for notions of regional integration.

Though ideally the SADC's main objective is to harness investment in the region while PTA focuses primarily on breaking down the trade barriers in the South-eastern part of Africa, there is a lot of duplication between the two.

For instance, nine out of ten SADC members are also members of the PTA. Only Botswana does not belong to this organisation.

The PTA has 19 members, from Sudan down to Lesotho.

SADC membership consists of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Economists say, when SADC was still SADCC, to a certain extent it made sense for the organisation to maintain a separate identity from the PTA, but with its recent transformation into a group targeting mainly regional integration, there is no need for the two to maintain separate structures.

Nyathi says that even the international community is getting weary of funding two organisations which share the same objective and operate in the same area.

What seems to be missing is the political will among members of both organisations, he says.

"Until such time that there is a political will to balance the national and regional interests, it is doubtful whether PTA's honourable ideals will be achieved," says Nyathi.

Regional integration will remain "a pipe dream" as long as PTA and SADC do not resolve current contradictions.

Africa Institute's senior fellow, Mr Erich Leistner, who conducted Sacob's study, says much as South Africa should integrate its economy with the rest of Africa, the country must also strive to make its exports more competitive elsewhere in the world.

Though Africa is an important market for South Africa, it is a relatively small one. Currently, sub-Saharan Africa only accounts for a fifth of the country's exports.

"There don't seem to be prospects for a dramatic change to that in the near future," he says.

Combined income of countries in sub-Saharan Africa, excluding South Africa, is equivalent to that of Belgium, according to Leistner.

He puts emphasis on co-operation instead of integration. The former is already being practised throughout the sub-continent in the form of air links, electricity supply and railway lines whereas the latter would mean complex political problems.

However, as posturing and power playing continues between PTA and SADC, informed sources suggest many within these groups are in favour of a merger.

* Black Shops Hurt by White Shopping Malls

93AF0407A Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
29 Jan 93 p 15

[Article by Joshua Raboroko]

[Text] Shopping complexes in black townships in the PWV [Pretoria Witwatersrand Vereeniging] area are on the brink of collapse.

Most retailers have closed down and retrenched workers because the complexes are not economically viable.

They said that white shopping malls on the periphery of the townships are booming as most consumers patronise them.

Also preventing development is black business' defensive tactic that white capital should not be allowed into black townships unless blacks are allowed to trade in CBDs [Central Business District].

Up-market Suburb

One of the hardest hit centres is the R20 million shopping centre that opened in the upmarket suburb of Spruitview on the East Rand.

At least 15 shopowners out of 45 outlets have closed their businesses because of high rentals and the absence of shoppers.

A shopowner in Spruitview said: "I am intending to close my store at the end of January because there is just no business here. Few people come to buy here. I am not making any profit and the rent is high."

The other centres are Lesedi in Vosloorus, Letsoho in Katlehong, Nafcoc in Soshanguve, Pimville Plaza and Blackchain in Soweto and Taxido in Sebokeng.

Most shopowners in Spruitview complain about the high R35—sq m rent.

"I pay about R14,865 rent a month in a 422sqm shop," a shopowner said.

Spokesman for the Spruitview Centre Mr Steve Anticeich said the centre was not properly marketed by previous owners.

He said they were contemplating reducing the charge to R25—sq m.

In Vosloorus, four shops and offices have closed down. African bank and the SA Perm have withdrawn their services because of a spate of robberies and burglaries.

The Letsoho Center in Katlehong is completely surrounded by informal traders (hawkers, taverns and spaza shops) who are serious competitors.

The president of the Katlehong Chamber of Commerce, Mr Joshua Namane, said retailers were forced to leave the complex to start their businesses elsewhere.

Political instability and violence were also eroding the development of retailing. Suppliers were unable to get into the townships to deliver goods. Stayaways, forced strikes and other protest actions were also impacting on business development.

White Elephant

The R11 million Nafcoc Shopping Centre in Soshanguve is almost a "white elephant" with many shops closed.

The Blackchain Shopping Centre near Baragwanath is also going through hard times despite the taxi rank and banks in the neighbourhood.

The Taxido centre in Sebokeng was destroyed by fire, two banks have pulled out, the Mphatlalatsane Hall in the neighbourhood has been vandalised and property estimated at thousands of rands stolen.

* Bankruptcy Rate for Business Seen Rising

93AF0386F Cape Town THE ARGUS in English
17 Dec 92 p 25

[Article by Marc Hasenfuss, business staff: "Businesses Going Under at the Rate of 10 a Day"]

[Text] Almost 10 businesses went to the wall every working day in the first 10 months of the year.

According to Central Statistical Service (CSS) figures, 2,007 businesses were liquidated between January and October, an average of 200 a month.

Liquidations for the 10 months are already 7.7 percent ahead of the 1,881 in the whole of last year.

The figure is more than 25 percent higher than the annual totals for 1988, 1989 and 1990.

More than 1,800 of this year's liquidations were compulsory. Only 188 were voluntary.

The figures show that nearly 80 of the 220 companies that went into liquidation in October were in the retail and wholesale trades—a clear indication of severe spending cuts, especially in the luxury and leisure goods categories.

Other sectors with high liquidations included manufacturing (59), financing, insurance and real estate (46) and construction (24).

Insolvencies—individuals or partnerships placed under final sequestration—in the nine months to the end of September numbered 3,440.

This compares with the 4,057 in 1991.

Metropolitan Life chief economist Dr. Chris Visser said companies were able to manage negative cash flows during previous short and sharper downturns, but not during a prolonged recession.

Dr. Visser said effective stock management was a prerequisite for survival.

But many companies were moving stock at below cost—straining financial resources further.

"As long as consumer spending remains under pressure, de-stocking will continue."

Econometrix director Mr. Tony Twine said that even if the economy did not weaken further, businesses running on "survival credit" would remain in a risky position.

Mr. Twine pointed out that during the 1980s the economy was operating at negative or very low interest rates and business people built this into their equations for company structuring.

The strongly positive interest rates now prevailing had left a lot of companies grasping for affordable finance, he said.

The recession has already taken established listed companies such as Tollgate, and other notable groups in provisional and final liquidation include the Deb-nair Group, Supreme Holdings and Bester Homes.

Liquidations Annual Totals

Thousands	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992**
1,809	1,563	1,573	1,59	1,881	2,007

**Total for 10 months period January to October 1992

18 Mar Review of Press Editorials, Commentaries MB1803133793

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

ANC's 'Aura of Invincibility'—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 16 March in its page 6 editorial "can understand" the African National Congress, ANC, "cockiness," when it talks "more and more as if it will win the open election next year." It has "got its way on crucial aspects in the bilateral talks with the government." Also, "foreign governments and organisations treat the ANC as if it is the government-in-waiting, adding to its aura of invincibility." THE CITIZEN urges the National Party and the government to counter the "ANC's deliberately fostered image of a government-in-waiting." The government "should not appear ineffectual and hangdog" and should start winning votes now "on the basis that it is the only organisation capable of fighting the ANC at the polls. It should show that it is not capitulating to ANC demands, but will do what is best for everyone."

THE STAR

Budget Shows Direction, Minister Commended—"Taken in conjunction with the recently-released Normative Economic Model, the Budget suggests that, for the first time in decades, the nation's economic policymakers know where they're going," declares a page 18 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 18 March. "With government spending poised to fall in real terms, the deficit set to come down, fiscal discipline now a cornerstone of the Minister's economic strategy and monetary policy to remain restrictive, inflation should stay at or near single digits for at least the next 12 months." The immediate impact for the man in the street will be that he'll be paying more taxes, and he'll be paying more for all but his basic foodstuffs. "But looking further ahead, he can anticipate a better job market, an improved economy and lower price increases than in the

past." "This time round we won't be paying with a smile, but at least we'll do so in the knowledge that things should get better. For that Derek Keys deserves commendation."

BUSINESS DAY

Budget Proposals Welcome—Finance Minister Derek Keys's budget proposals "should be broadly welcomed as breaking with the past and preparing the ground for more than just a sustainable economic advance," notes a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 18 March. "Thank goodness we have been presented with a Budget drafted by a businessman acutely aware of the importance of facilitating growth and able to stand above petty party politics." Keys also "broke unequivocally with the past by showing that he was prepared to take into account views other than those of his own party. In the past we had concessions, cynically designed to buy support for government. The new trend, shown for example by the tax relief on retrenchment payments proposed by the National Union of Mineworkers, is for broad consensus on what is realistically possible...He took it further, at little relative cost, by promises or allocations of funds to multiparty groups such as the National Housing Forum and national economic forum. Keys is transparent. He believes, reasonably, that this will be a step towards constructive co-operation between the government and groups which broadly oppose it. Again, he has facilitated necessary moves towards consensus, reconciliation and partnership rather than made empty appeals."

SOWETAN

Criticism of Special Treatment for Homelands—While it might be "a decent thing for the Government to give homelands like Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu 'special status'," Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 18 March in a page 8 editorial does not believe the homelands deserve special treatment. "The Government is hoist with its own petard in this matter. It created the policy and in the process gave power to leaders who are now not prepared to give it up."

Angola

Dos Santos Seeks International Weapons To Fight UNITA

MB1803064193 London BBC World Service
in Portuguese 2030 GMT 17 Mar 93

[From the "Last Minute" program]

[Text] Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has called on the international community to grant his government weapons to fight the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. In an interview with Portuguese Television, Jose Eduardo dos Santos said Angola did not have the money to buy weapons with which to defend democracy. He said, quote, there can be no democracy without opposition, but there can be no democracy with armed parties, either, unquote.

The Angolan president also said he wanted a peaceful settlement to differences with UNITA which, he noted, had taken up arms after its election defeat. Jose Eduardo dos Santos affirmed he was willing to meet UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi but added he would accept no compromises on the terms of the peace accords which officially ended the civil war in Angola.

UNITA To Scrap Accord if Weapons Call Heeded

MB1803072193 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Text] The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] has violated the Angolan peace accords on various occasions. Those accords are currently in crisis but may soon be dropped into the trash can of history should the international community agree to Eduardo dos Santos' request that the Triple Zero Option be abolished.

In an interview with Portuguese Television on 16 March, the Futungoland [Futungo de Belas Palace] chieftain asked the international community to supply weapons to fight the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. This comes at a time when the United Nations is calling the two sides to enter dialogue and proposing a bilateral meeting at the highest level.

The survival of the Bicesse Accords will depend on the international community's response to Eduardo dos Santos' request. The Bicesse Accord, which is the sole legal document for peace in Angola, was drawn up and signed by UNITA and the MPLA in 1991.

In his interview, Eduardo dos Santos clearly placed himself on the side of his party's militarist wing and promised to get weapons, even if he needed, quote, to fetch them from hell, unquote.

UNITA Radio Says Namibia 'Lackey' of MPLA Government

MB1803080293 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Text] The economically more powerful Luanda communist government is turning Namibia, an independent and sovereign country, into a lackey state. Luandaland officials often travel to that neighboring country and think nothing of dictating their own laws to it.

It was against this background that Windhoek, the Namibian capital, received the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola's George Chikoty [deputy foreign affairs minister] and General Kundi Païama, who stalked the corridors of the Namibian Foreign Affairs Ministry and of the NDF [Namibian Defense Force].

Windhoek has not allowed humanitarian aid to go through its territory to people in southern Angola, thereby showing to what extent Namibia does what Luanda wants, despite the fact that diplomatic forces say the Luanda regime was responsible for armed communism in southern Africa.

Brazilian, Russian Diplomats Deny Supporting MPLA

MB1703143693 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 17 Mar 93

[From the "Channel Africa Report" program]

[Text] The Angolan UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement has claimed that Brazil, Russia, Cuba, and Israel are supporting the Luanda government in the present conflict. Well, Channel Africa approached foreign diplomats for comment. Brazilian Embassy spokesman Louis Antonio Facini Gomez is on the line from Pretoria. Keith Campbell compiled the following report.

[Begin recording] [Gomez] That's a complete lie. There is a reaction, an official reaction of the Brazilian Government. The Brazilian Government is very worried with those declarations which have been attributed to the leader of UNITA, Jonas Savimbi, accusing Brazil to violate the agreement of Bicesse, by supplying material, military materiel to the Angolan Government. The communique goes further, telling that the Brazilian Government rejects categorically those allegations. Brazilian Government states that it will go on observing the principals and norms of the international law and respecting the accord—agreements of Bicesse. Our government has always supported the peaceful solution, dialogue, between the parties.

[Campbell] Russia has also been named by UNITA as a country supporting the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government. On the line we

have Vyacheslav Sukanov, second secretary at the Russian Embassy. How do you react to this claim by UNITA?

[Sukanov] In accordance with the Lisbon agreements of May '91, providing for the Bicesse settlement in Angola, and by which Russia is strictly biding, the Russian Federation is not rendering any military assistance to any of the warring sides in Angola—that is, neither to the legitimate government nor to the political opposition—that is, to UNITA. Furthermore, the Russian Federation is implementing its best efforts, as an observer of the process, to facilitate the task or the speediest possible reestablishment of peace and getting the peace process back on track. [end recording]

UN's Anstee Returns, Presents Report on UN Meeting

MB1703213493 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] Ms. Margaret Anstee, the UN secretary general's special representative in Angola, returned to Luanda today from New York where she presented a report on the situation in our country. She returned today but she did not take a rest. She went to the Foreign Ministry this afternoon and held talks with Deputy Foreign Minister Joao Miranda.

Ms. Margaret Anstee went to present to the government the complete official report on her contacts in New York. She held a one-hour, closed-door meeting with Joao Miranda. After the meeting she spoke to the press. She spoke about the UN resolution on Angola, which was the main theme of her talks with the deputy foreign minister.

[Begin Anstee recording] [Words indistinct] last week, I believe the UN Security Council held the longest meeting on Angola. The meeting began at 1100 and ended at 2000. Evidently, there are many points in the resolution. Perhaps one of the most important points is the article which requests that the UN secretary general try to organize the resumption of talks, with a meeting at the highest level possible, probably in New York or any other place. The secretary general has already adopted an initiative in this direction.

[Unidentified reporter] Are there any signs of the talks progressing?

[Anstee] Well, the secretary general is presently preparing actions on this resolution. Soon, we shall have more information.

[Reporter] On the incident in Cabinda, will this not affect the UN mission in Angola?

[Anstee] Obviously, each attack on the UN Angolan Verification Mission-2 [UNAVEM-2] affects our mission. In this case, we found ourselves forced to evacuate our personnel from Cabinda. My wish is that we should, as soon as possible, increase our presence here and once again have our personnel throughout the country. At this

moment we are facing an impasse, however. Accordingly, the UN Security Council has pointed out that it will not increase the UN mission here [words indistinct] until there is a clear and unequivocal declaration that there will be a cease-fire and a resumption of dialogue, as well as the implementation of the peace accords. We have to find a way to arrive at this point.

[Reporter] What about the Jordanian official detained by armed elements of the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave?

[Anstee] Well, fortunately, he was freed yesterday and he is already here. Since I arrived this morning, I have not had time to meet him personally, but I understand he is in relatively good health. This lamentable incident ended well.

The fact that there are many verbal and physical attacks on UNAVEM, its personnel, and against the UN secretary general special representative, does not inspire much confidence in the UN Security Council. Accordingly, the council has expressed its deepest concern in the face of these attacks [words indistinct] resolution that this should end.

I believe that we all understand the frustration of the Angolan people over the war, because obviously it is tragic thing. But I believe that it is a [word indistinct] to exclusively blame UNAVEM [words indistinct]. We have a mandate which is very limited. This is not our fault [words indistinct] risking their lives to try to find a way out of this impasse. What we need more than anything else now is just calm, a little bit of understanding about our mission, that our determination, particularly mine, is to try to help the Angolan people to come out of this tragedy. For this, we need the Angolan people's support and their understanding. What is more, we need a way out of this present impasse. I believe this could be done through this idea of a meeting convened by the UN secretary general at the highest level possible.

[Reporter] On the UN resolution, has Ms. Margaret Anstee said something new?

[Miranda] Well, the new thing is that at this moment we must try to establish the terms of the resolution. We spoke about this during our meeting. Efforts are under way to make sure that in the near future there will be a meeting between delegations from the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. [end recording]

UNITA Representative 'Welcomes' More UN Involvement

MB1703143293 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] representative at the UN in New York, Mr. Marcos Samondo, says his movement welcomes any peace initiative encouraging direct negotiations between

UNITA and the Angolan authorities. He also appealed to the UN to become more involved in the quest for peace in Angola. Mr. Samondo reiterated that no South African mercenaries were fighting with UNITA.

Deputy Foreign Minister on African Tour, UNITA Demands

MB1803100293 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola's [UNITA] decision to choose another mediator must not be unilateral. Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister George Chikoty said this on his return this afternoon from a tour which took him to Zambia, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. Minister Chikoty noted UNITA must present concrete proposals to end the war.

[Begin recording] [Chikoty] We are entering an extremely serious stage in the Angolan conflict. Africans increasingly think that Africa at large, and southern African countries in particular, must play a more active role.

[Unidentified reporter] Do you think your diplomatic offensive will bear fruit?

[Chikoty] Well, I think all diplomatic work by the government has borne fruit so far. First, I think countries are now deeply aware of the need to help Angola at all costs so it can overcome this crisis. The countries of southern Africa believe the Angolan problem must be firmly dealt with or it may not be confined to Angola alone. It is not difficult to see that practically all these countries are beset by political instability. Many of those countries are our neighbors. Looking at the South African problem and keeping in mind Dr. Savimbi's speech, naturally all neighboring countries are deeply concerned. All countries I visited rejected Dr. Savimbi's message. They view it as a completely unilateral and unacceptable stand. Now, UNITA wants to dismiss officials such as UN Special Representative Margaret Anstee herself. It wants to choose the venue for the talks. UNITA has also decided that the mediator in the Angolan conflict should be an African. Yet, paradoxically, UNITA refuses to hold talks in Addis Ababa, or in Africa. [end recording]

Government Reportedly Retakes Chongoroi, M'Banza Congo

MB1803110093 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 0500 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Text] The Angolan Government says it has recaptured two more towns from the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement.

They are Chongoroi in Benguela Province and M'Banza Congo in Zaire Province. The latest government victories come 10 days after the government suffered a blow when UNITA overran its garrison in Angola's second largest city, Huambo. Diplomats say the reestablishment of government control in the extreme north and the

central highlands, with the recapture of M'Banza Congo and Chongoroi, shows a recovery in the government's offensive capacity.

The development also means that the United Nations World Food Program can now resume relief flights to northern Angola with immediate effect.

UNITA Appoints Huambo Province Governor

MB1803071793 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1200 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Excerpt] After the glorious Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] defeated the joint People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA]-Riot Police forces on 6 March, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, has been making headway with the appointment of Dr. Matematico Jeronimo Wanga as governor of Huambo Province. Dr. Jeronimo Wanga, former education minister during the transitional government in 1975, said his first task would be to hold contacts with all classes of people in order to hear their views and thus define a program aimed at rehabilitating the city. The newly appointed governor told the Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel that priority will be given to the cleaning of the city and organizing health services and food supply, among other things, for the welfare of Huambo residents. [passage omitted]

UNITA Objects To Food Aid for Fleeing Soldiers

MB1803084993 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 18 Mar 93

[Excerpt] The international community grants humanitarian aid through the World Food Program, WFP. That aid must not be handed over to soldiers fleeing clashes and posing as civilian refugees.

Sources in Huambo say all people arriving in Benguela Province are soldiers. Exceptions are few and far between. It is ironical that the WFP should be ignoring and leaving in miserable conditions millions of inhabitants in Huambo, only to turn its attention to a few hundred refugees. [passage omitted]

German Relief Agency Supplies Food to Southern Areas

MB1303113993 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 12-18 Mar 93 p 17

[Report by Andy Meldrum and Eddie Koch: "Helping where nobody else helps"]

[Text] A little known German non-governmental agency, Hilfe in Not (Help in Need), has turned up as a supplier

of food aid to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]-controlled areas of southern Angola.

The organisation's activities help to explain something that has long baffled observers of the war in Angola: how UNITA's guerrillas have been able to wage long and effective battles against the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government's troops.

The German NGO's motto is "Help where nobody else helps" (Helfen, wo keiner hilft), and they are proving true to their word by trying to supply areas controlled by Jonas Savimbi. The organisation flew food aid into southeastern Angola from Namibia until the Angolan government and the United Nations intervened to stop the illegal flights across the formally closed border.

Hilfe in Not president Dietrich Kantel protested to the Angolan government calling its position "cynical" and outside "the community of civilised administrations".

In response the United Nations rejected any association with Hilfe in Not and stated that its distribution of food aid is carried out through apolitical agencies like the Catholic church and the Catholic charity, Caritas.

Hilfe in Not has said they are working to get food to the hungry people of southern Angola. The Angolan government has countered that the aid is supporting UNITA's war.

Hilfe in Not's credibility as a non-partisan operation took a further knock this week when Kantel told THE GUARDIAN newspaper that he intends to open a Hilfe in Not office in Jamba, the longstanding UNITA base.

Commodity brokers in Harare confirm that Hilfe in Not has purchased maize, maize seeds, other food products and blankets to be delivered into southern Angola from Namibia. Hilfe in Not receives funding of 10-million German marks from the German government and the European Community, according to Kantel.

It is also becoming clear that UNITA is purchasing the consumable items that allow its troops to wage war with massive amounts of revenue earned from selling diamonds it has plundered from independent diggers and the state-owned diamond company, Endiama.

Last week it emerged that the rebels sell hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of stolen diamonds to international buyers and use the money obtained in this way to buy arms, food, ammunition, medical supplies and fuel for their troops from suppliers based in Zaire and South Africa.

Diamond buying agents in Zaire have paid UNITA officials vast amounts of cash for diamonds smuggled across the central African state's southern border with Angola.

This week figures released by South Africa's diamond mining giant, De Beers, indicate that the corporation spent R[and]900-million last year mopping up extra

and illicit diamonds on the Angolan market in a bid to stabilise the international price of the gems.

Although the bulk of UNITA's diamonds appear to end up in the hands of De Beers, the company insists that it is not aware of the source of these supplies. De Beers said in a statement: "The buying offices (in Zaire) are open to all comers and unless an offerer of diamonds openly showed his affiliation we wouldn't be aware of it. We have no arrangement with UNITA to buy diamonds illegally exported from Angola."

Mozambique

Mocumbi Voices Concern Over Renamo Stance, Delays

MB1803093293 London BBC World Service
in Portuguese 2030 GMT 17 Mar 93

[From the "Last Minute" program]

[Text] In his European tour, Foreign Affairs Minister Pascoal Mocumbi has been stressing the need to speed up the implementation of the peace accords and to provide the United Nations with the resources it needs in order to oversee the Mozambican peace process. In an interview with the BBC Portuguese Service here in London, Foreign Minister Pascoal Minister expressed apprehension and concern about the latest stands adopted by the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] and delays in, as well as obstacles to, the implementation of the peace accords and verification work by the international community. Minister Mocumbi noted that it was not by abandoning commission meetings and resorting to armed blackmail that Renamo will help bring peace to Mozambique. The Mozambican diplomat noted pacification is crucial to ensure the return of more than 1 million refugees. Repatriation operations were announced in the wake of his talks with the head of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR] in Geneva.

Speaking to our colleague Pedro Oliveira, Mozambican Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi began by discussing the matter of returning refugees:

[Begin recording] [Mocumbi] Some Mozambicans have already returned. They did not even wait for the implementation of any plans by the UNCHR, the Mozambican Government, and host countries. In view of that, I have viewed as an encouraging sign the decision made the day before yesterday concerning the need to speed up the process of reorganizing repatriation. It is also encouraging to Mozambicans receiving in their homes their brethren returning from their forced exile. The head of the UNHCR has told me that she already has some money in hand so the operation can get off the ground. She must have some \$10 million so the operation can begin. I hope that the agreement we signed will lead to the mobilization of further resources. This is one of the

reasons why the Mozambican Government and the UNCHR decided to sign those agreements as soon as possible, namely to ensure that all partners interested in backing this operation will know the framework within which they will be operating.

[Oliveira] What are the Mozambican Government's principal aims before the end of this year?

[Mocumbi] Our principal aim is to pacify the country. Without correct pacification, there will be a return to [words indistinct] one should keep it in mind that returning citizens need to find stability prior even to thinking about survival. Second, another Mozambican Government aim is to find means to allow repatriated citizens to rejoin social and economic life. The same applies to displaced citizens returning to their homes. The Mozambican Government believes that minimum support should be granted to the citizens to allow them to become self-sufficient. Production tools and some food aid should be granted them to begin with. Seeing that most of them are farmers and Mozambique is not short of land, the government will guarantee they will be allocated land so they can start their agricultural work. Southern Africa in general, and Mozambique in particular, have fortunately had rain lately.

[Oliveira] Mr. Minister: Let us move on to the issue of pacification. The Mozambican Government's first priority is the peace process, but it has come up against certain obstacles: Renamo is not attending verification meetings at this time, for instance. There have also been significant delays in the arrival of UN peacekeeping forces supposed to verify the implementation of the peace accords. Do you think there is a risk the peace process could experience even more serious problems than it has so far, should delays continue to occur?

[Mocumbi] As it was signed in Rome, the accord provides for monitoring mechanisms. That was exactly because we were aware there was still the risk that the whole process might derail. The two sides, Renamo and the government, are primarily responsible for the implementation of the accord. Thus, Renamo's present behavior is a source of great concern to the government. Renamo is not living up to its responsibilities in the mechanisms that were created by the accords. It is not by abandoning commission meetings and by resorting to armed blackmail that we will be able to implement the process we consciously undertook to execute in order to bring peace and stability to the country. To live up to their responsibilities, our partners—including the international community as a whole, in this specific case—must comply with their obligations as stipulated in the accords. We have noticed [words indistinct] the government has been concerned. One of the reasons for my European tour has been to sensitize our partners on the need to speed up the implementation of the accords, notably with regard to confining troops, forming a new army, backing repatriation, and reintegrating displaced people in the life of the nation.

[Oliveira] Minister Mocumbi: In concrete terms, what measures have you suggested to your interlocutors in Europe?

[Mocumbi] In concrete terms, first, we suggested that the United Nations find ways to provide the secretary general with the resources needed for an operation of this magnitude. Second, that countries represented at the commissions created in terms of the accords help speed up their implementation. Third, those countries which are friendly with Mozambique and which want a peaceful southern Africa must contribute resources to ensure the success of this operation. I think my contacts will bear fruit. [end recording]

Official Urges UN Act on S. Africa for Renamo Support

MB1703165293 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1600 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] The speaker of the Mozambican National Assembly has called on the United Nations to punish South Africa [RSA] and other African countries for what he has termed their continued support of the opposition Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] movement.

Speaking in Maputo, Mr. Marcelino dos Santos said Mozambique had proof that some countries supported Renamo, after signing a peace accord with the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] government.

He said there was proof of Renamo people being trained in Kenya. Neighboring countries such as Malawi continue to allow Renamo troops to use their territory as springboards to Mozambique.

Mr. dos Santos also said Mozambique would not on its own be able to handle the influx of returning refugees and would need the assistance of the international community.

Senior Renamo Official on 'Trading Accusations'

MB1703121993 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] The Mozambican Government and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] have been trading accusations lately and this has been a burning issue in this country. Anselmo Vitor, a senior Renamo official, commented on this problem during an interview with Radio Mozambique in Quelimane, Zambezia Province, recently.

He said that the United Nations is to blame for the delay in the implementation of the Mozambique General Peace Accord. He said neither the government nor Renamo are to blame for the current slowness in the implementation of the protocols signed in Rome.

On his visits to various parts of the country, that Renamo official said the visits have been encouraging because of the way Renamo members and sympathizers

have been receiving his delegation. On the other hand, Vitor did not hide his dissatisfaction about the way he has been treated by certain provincial governments, despite the fact that central government authorities had undertaken to inform them about his visits.

He said, quote, in Nampula, I was not received by the provincial governor under the pretext that he was not aware of my visit. Things went differently in Quelimane, though, beginning with transportation, unquote. With regard to Zambezia Province, he said that, despite the fact that his visit had not been successful, Renamo will follow the provincial governor's suggestions about hiring a house to install Renamo's local headquarters.

Replying to a question about regionalist tendencies within Renamo, Anselmo Vitor refuted the idea that Renamo follows ethnic ideals. Vitor said he could not confirm allegations concerning Renamo troop movements in violation of the cease-fire accord. He added, however, that it was possible that Renamo troops moved from one base to another and went through areas under its own influence.

Anselmo Vitor did not evade our question about his organization's interdict on newsmen trying to visit Renamo's bases. He said that, in every case, the base commander had not been informed about such visits beforehand. Vitor added that this was a matter of the highest importance, even for the safety of newsmen wanting to work in Renamo-controlled areas.

That Renamo political official went to Quelimane on a two-day visit. He denied reports that people are not able to move about freely and gave the example that vehicles are constantly traveling through Renamo-controlled areas. Vitor also described as very sensitive those issues relating to aid sent to those areas by nongovernmental organizations and he added the slowness of the road demining process has been responsible for a climate of fear.

Another question put to Anselmo Vitor had to do with Renamo's accusation that the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party had been tarnishing Renamo's image and that it will respond in the same manner. He said, quote, we are for national reconciliation and we will not follow the path of accusations. Renamo is interested in teaching and guiding the citizen along the lines of the democracy for which we have fought, unquote.

In his interview with Radio Mozambique's Quelimane branch Anselmo Vitor also stressed that Renamo's plans do not include federalism. He recognized that a multi-party Assembly of the Republic makes it possible for different views to be aired in a balanced manner.

Turning to the level of maturity of Renamo cadres, should that organization win the upcoming elections and those cadres take up governmental posts, Anselmo Vitor said that kind of doubt detracts from the capacity of

Mozambican people and he added all will be called to work in tune with their professional, rather than political, capabilities.

With regard to his leader's tour of European countries which had previously refused to receive him, Anselmo Vitor said this showed that Renamo is being granted recognition and he added this had not been possible before the peace accords were signed because of their diplomatic relations with the Mozambican Government.

On international cooperation, Vitor said Renamo will maintain relations with all countries, though priority will be given to neighboring countries as long as the system of cooperation does not negatively affect the country.

Anselmo Victor held a meeting with Renamo members and sympathizers in Quelimane. He was also received by the Zambezia provincial governor, with whom he exchanged views on Renamo's establishment in the province and the possibility that local authorities speed up the implementation of certain clauses in the Mozambique General Peace Accord.

WFP Suspends Food Airlifts to Renamo Areas

MB1703143393 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1100 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] The World Food Program [WFP] of the United Nations has suspended its airlift of emergency food aid to key Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]-held areas in Mozambique because supplies already flown in have not been distributed to needy people. A WFP source told the Maputo-based [words indistinct] that 250 tonnes of maize are piled up on the airstrip at Maringue, the bush headquarters of Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama.

At a news conference at Maringue last Wednesday Dhlakama accused humanitarian agencies of only supplying areas under government control. However, as [words indistinct] the news conference, [word indistinct] food piled up at the airstrip. The government [word indistinct] says there is enough food there to feed 15,000 people for a month. A WFP official said nobody can complain of a shortage of food in Maringue. The WFP is now installing a portable warehouse to [put] beside the airstrip to protect the food. There have been good rains over most of Mozambique this season and the WFP says the main need of people in Renamo areas at the moment is not food but clothes, medicine, [words indistinct]. [Words indistinct] tonnes of food aid have already been delivered to Renamo areas since October last year when a peace agreement was signed.

Pademo Demands Government Pay Soldiers' Salaries

MB1703121293 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 17 Mar 93

[Text] The Mozambique Democratic Party, Pademo, has called on the government to urgently settle the problem of soldiers' salaries in arrears.

In a communique received at our news desk, Pademo says all disturbances by government soldiers have been caused by the fact that their salaries are in arrears. It adds that when soldiers protest, they are dismissed.

Pademo's communique also notes that senior officials, including those in the Defense Ministry, do practically nothing but their salaries are always up to date. The communique states, quote, it is not advisable to know only how to dismiss those soldiers. It is also necessary to know how to resolve their problems which, from our point of view, appear to be quite basic, unquote.

Frelimo's Manuel Tome on Politics, Reconciliation

MB1603185093 Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese 21 Feb 93 pp 8-11

[Interview with Manuel Jorge Tome, member of the Secretariat of the Mozambique Liberation Front Party Central Committee, by reporters Jorge Matine, Albuquerque Freire, Moises Mabunda, and Almiro Santos in Maputo—date not given]

[Text] It is not often that the life of a political party has been mixed with the history of the people and country where that party is based. In Mozambique, the 18 years of national independence run parallel with the history of Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] in its progress and setbacks, in its problems and successes, but particularly in its darkest days. The Frelimo Party, 18 years in power. Has it managed to avoid the erosion and wearing and tearing that is caused when it remains in government for such a long time? The upcoming elections will answer that. DOMINGO made an appointment at "Le Paris" Restaurant with Frelimo Party spokesman Manuel Jorge Tome, member of the Secretariat of the Frelimo Party Central Committee. It cannot be said that it was a meeting among colleagues—Manuel Tome is a journalist, although during the interview he speaks in his capacity as a politician. For over two hours we wanted to know about the life and immediate plans of the Frelimo Party, without forgetting the past, namely the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism and the subsequent shelving of the construction of scientific socialism, the social democracy option and the ongoing "passive defensive" which became particularly obvious after the last Congress. Manuel Tome tried to answer all those questions. He spoke of the strong belief prevailing within the ranks of his party whereby the latter will win the upcoming legislative and presidential elections. He rejected the view that Frelimo is being dragged down by Joaquim Chissano, the party's great and main emblematic figure on whom Frelimo hopes to capitalize in order to win the elections, and thus remain in power. Adhering to the current watchword—reconciliation—he avoided entering into polemics about Renamo. He said: "Everybody knows how this war started, how Renamo was born and how it conducted the war, the deaths that it caused

and the destruction that it sowed. Therefore, it is not worth talking about it now." In essence, the interview as a whole is what matters.

[DOMINGO] Mr. Secretary, would you like to define Frelimo? What does Frelimo stand for at this stage?

[Tome] What does Frelimo stand for at this stage... Well, in essence Frelimo has always stood for its objectives. Yes, there have been changes in its strategy and in its internal organization in line with the country's political framework which is undergoing change. The party, however, believes that there are instances when such changes are more significant, like the present ones.

But there will always be changes. That is why our party defines itself as the party of transformation. That is, a party that continually adapts itself to the real society. In objective terms, we continue to struggle for a society in which the Mozambican man develops fully his capacities and personality in order to contribute to the economic, political and social progress of the country. That means that we place man as the main subject and object of our political process as a whole, so that with his participation in the processes of national development we may after all achieve what we have always struggle for.

Our objectives and the things we have fought for, really, have never changed: A society in which everyone can have education, health, equality, social justice and an exchange of views from which new developments, new ways may always evolve, a society where human rights and the respect for citizens may prevail.

[DOMINGO] You say that Frelimo has stood for its objectives.... And how did it define them?

[Tome] I think that that is one of the great problems that have been created among many people, including journalists, probably because of the one-party era. People are more concerned with labels [epitotos] than with the main objectives of a political, economic and social process. They want to know what Frelimo is: A socialist party? A capitalist party? That is not important because the array of definitions that one can have will in no way influence the objectives.

We may define ourselves as a center-right wing, left wing, extreme-left wing or extreme-right wing party. What matters are our objectives and methods, and whether the latter are correct and the most suitable in a given phase, and then achieve the objectives that have been defined.

What is the importance of a definition? It is important because we are in a process in which we have to look forward. I have always said that the Mozambican process is one in which we should bet on the future. It is not a process in which we continually face many complexes and look into the past.

[DOMINGO] When a Frelimo official says that definitions have always been the concern of journalists, one may get the impression that Frelimo's past is not that

important. Well, for a party that not many years ago defined itself as essentially communist and has since abandoned Marxism-Leninism, we think that such a party does not follow such a course of action and introduces changes of that nature because of risks... There are, in fact, strategies that the party looks for and new definitions that it makes, regardless of whether there are people or newspapers who raise questions or not. When one says that journalists are the ones who like to raise questions—that is not an important question—is it not like throwing dust into someone's eyes?

[Tome] Fortunately, from a professional standpoint I am your colleague. That was not exactly what I said. I said that one of our problems in the past, including journalists, [sentence as heard] I am not saying journalists are responsible for anything. Frelimo's official doctrine was Marxism-Leninism. And there are many parties whose official doctrine was Marxism-Leninism. Some even called themselves Marxist-Leninist parties, socialist parties, left-wing and so on.

What I wanted to say is that throughout this process we are often led—it is not the journalists. We, including the journalists, are often led—to believe that (?epithets) were what mattered. When we abandoned Marxism-Leninism, we did it conscientiously and we have no complexes in taking upon ourselves all our historic process.

The statutes, programs, strategies and so on were on many occasions reviewed throughout the six Frelimo congresses that have been held since it was formed, because it was necessary to take into account the prevailing reality.

If you are concerned with (?epithets), however, I will let you have them, though I still believe that for me that is not what matters.

I have already told the media that we regard ourselves as a party that stands for democratic socialism, which is embodied in the objectives that I have referred to. A party which professes a plurality of ideas, something that has not happened before—that is, there was a certain emphasis on a monolithic situation which in fact ended up not being that obvious.

People think differently and have different viewpoints, even though they did not raise them. The fact is that there were different viewpoints. When I talk about different ideas, I mean opposing ideas which often would not be well received, whereas today they can be raised in a wider forum. A plurality of ideas is established as a principle.

At one stage we strove for a certain monolithic situation—that is, for an extremely funneled view. Perhaps now we have turned the funnel upside down and the ideas have a wider space.

[DOMINGO] Renamo believes that it has won the war. Renamo believes it has brought about the changes in the country. In essence, what has made Frelimo abandon Marxism-Leninism?

[Tome] It seems that there are two questions here. You have asked me what has made Frelimo abandon... [pauses] I did not understand the question. You are linking Frelimo's abandonment of Marxism-Leninism to the victory Renamo is claiming.

[DOMINGO] No, that is the introductory part of the question.

[Tome] That is how I understood your question, because if in fact you ask me what is my opinion about Renamo's statement, I can give it. The other question deals with the reason why Frelimo abandoned Marxism-Leninism. There are many parties in the world which to date remain Marxist-Leninist. This question of plurality of ideas, political pluralism within the same party is acceptable—that is, parties may have any ideology as long as it does not mean the use of violence, the destruction of national values, and so on.

So, it is hard for me to believe that a party operates in order to make another party grow. We feel that we have grown in this process. Today we are talking about the deepening of democracy and of national political coexistence with other political parties. That was not the case before. And I do not believe that Renamo's struggle was aimed at making Frelimo grow.

Now, Renamo says it has won the war, does it not?

[DOMINGO] And that it is the pioneer of democracy.

[Tome] Well, I would like to abstain myself from making statements that hinder the process of the country's pacification. I feel that as a member of a party with responsibilities in the national political process—after all, the government of the day is a Frelimo government—I must take into consideration the impact that my statements may have among the citizens, the other parties, and in this case within Renamo itself. But I am forced to say that that is not true. Renamo is free to make whatever statements it wishes, but we all know how Renamo started. We all know, including you journalists, the origins of Renamo. The origins of Renamo date back a long time. We all know about its objectives. The war of destabilization waged against Mozambique began as a result of foreign interests. I would not like, therefore, to elaborate on it in order not to hurt anyone.

The process of national reconciliation that is necessary and the process of the country's pacification must not mean the falsification of history. They must not mean the distortion of the facts. For if you tell me that it was Renamo that exerted the pressure for change, democracy, and what not, then was that pressure for change and democracy worth the high price of 1 million deaths? Was it necessary for the price to be the destruction of the country? Did it need to have a price that meant the

transformation of Mozambicans into what we are seeing today in camps for displaced persons and refugees?

Furthermore, was it Renamo that caused the changes in Cape Verde? There were changes in Cape Verde, but there was no war. There were changes in Zambia, but there was no war. There were changes in the former Soviet Union, but there was no war. There are changes taking place in the Congo, but there was no war. Was Renamo there? I think that we should look at the historic reality of our country within a concrete regional context which does not escape the influences of what is happening worldwide. It does not. The world is undergoing changes and some of them are taking place at cruising speed.

Basically, the changes in the country have been due to concrete facts, to the analysis of concrete historical facts relating to the regional and international situation. That is what it is, basically. Now, if you tell me that war was among the internal factors, it is true that we had a war and we had to take into account the war that was being waged by Renamo. One cannot analyze history and say, well, we are doing a historic analysis by completely ignoring Renamo. We do not ignore Renamo, like we do not ignore the major national and regional problems.

So, that is only to say that when Renamo says that it has caused the changes within Frelimo and the country, that has no bearing on the truth.

[DOMINGO] We feel that it is not a question of talking about Renamo itself, but rather of trying also to explain the reasons. Here, Frelimo has a say. You said a while ago that the changes within Frelimo itself have been dictated by international and regional situations and also because there was a war in the country. What strikes many people, and I would even say international observers, is that since the last congress there has been a Frelimo heading in one direction and another Frelimo heading in another direction. Does that mean that there is a victory by the moderates over the radicals? Can we put the question in such terms?

[Tome] When did we abandon Marxism-Leninism? Frelimo abandoned Marxism-Leninism at the Fifth Congress, not at the Sixth. Basically, we had to adapt Frelimo to the concrete reality of the country. Basically we have the same goals regarding what we want for the people. They have not changed. How are we going to succeed in achieving that?

We saw that we had sectorial and economic policies which were inappropriate. We have introduced a free market economy and multipartyism. We saw that in the present phase the possibilities of greater development had of necessity to depend on those factors.

In politics one must take into consideration that what is best for the country is not always and immediately perceived.

You know that there was something like a popular consultation on whether or not we should introduce multipartyism in the country. The majority of peasants in the rural areas and parts of the urban areas spoke in favor of continuing with the one-party system.

But we said: We are not only giving a "show" [preceding word in English] about popular rule. It is true that we consulted the people and in that consultation we wanted to be didactic—that is, the politicians' general way of thinking demanded that from a formal and legal standpoint the possibility of creating various parties should be established. But you may repeat the question because...

[DOMINGO] Does that mean that there is break between the old radicalism and the ongoing moderate approach?

[Tome] One of the main characteristics of Frelimo is in fact its leadership and cadres being together when it comes to basics. I think that there was a certain attempt to link a few Frelimo officials to radical, conservative, and moderate wings.

On occasions, radical measures are taken and moderate measures on other occasions, but I do not think it can be said that radicalism was abandoned. If it was, we did not sit down and say: Well, we are being very radical. We have to change. What we did was to define policies suitable to the occasion from a strategic and organizational standpoint within the party itself.

For instance, you know that we virtually had a one party-state situation. And we have changed that. We have come out of that situation and said that the government and the party are two different things, though we are aware that the government is Frelimo's. That will be the same in any circumstances. In the future, if Frelimo wins the elections, the government will be formed by Frelimo. If another party wins the elections, there will be a government formed by that party or a coalition of parties.

Governments always belong to a given party or a coalition of parties. So, we try to define strategies and to outline the organization of the party and the state while taking reality into account. Well, I do not know if you call it being moderate. There could even be the possibility that we were completely aware that we were on the right track and people would call us conservative or radical. By introducing changes within the party and society we never had the idea of being more or less radical.

[DOMINGO] When you say that Frelimo has abandoned Marxism-Leninism as a doctrine and an ideology, one needs to consider that that abandonment coincided with a number of cadres leaving the party and they could or could have not represented that idea. When we say that Frelimo followed a more pragmatic and moderate line, we also realize that the changes that took place at the leadership level and the political openings that were made implied the admission of new cadres who were not

that committed to prejudices and ideologies. Both the old and the present leadership interpreted the sentiments of the people at a given time. There has been a change of people at the leadership level. Will that change correspond to an evolution of the party's current way of thinking or not?

[Tome] When we say that we have abandoned Marxism-Leninism, we mean that we have abandoned it as the party's doctrine. We are not completely rejecting Marxism-Leninism. Marxism has very important things, like analysis of societies, economic development processes, and so on.

Now, it is true that we said we abandoned Marxism-Leninism as the party's doctrine. We have something that allows greater pluralism, greater openness within the party. I believe there will be opportunities to enable us to think in a certain manner. Some leaders left during the sixth congress, while new ones came in.

The Frelimo Party abandoned Marxism-Leninism as its doctrine during its fifth congress in 1989. During that period, some leaders left the Political Bureau, now called the Political Commission. I must point out that most of these leaders left because they felt they should conform with the principles and objectives advocated by the party—the renovation of the party. Renovation in terms of age and renovation in terms of new people. People of this or that age, and so on.

I recall during one of the sessions of the party, one comrade—I will not say his name because I would need his permission to do that—said: I have to be logical. I have been one of the greatest defenders of renovation. I have been in the party for a very long time. I have been in the party leadership for over 20 years. We need renovation. I continue to be a militant of this party, a greater defender of this party. I shall fight to ensure that it achieves its objectives and I shall never relent. In other words, I have the same militancy that I displayed during my first day of work. Processes of change demand that someone takes the initiative...

[DOMINGO] Are you not talking about Jorge Rebelo? [pauses] Is this not the renovation that totally paralyzed the party?

[Tome] I must say that all processes of transition bring about a certain lull on the part of organs, on the part of militants, and in a certain way, confusion. I will give you an example: We separated the party from the State. We said the party is one thing and the government is another. We said the government must be impartial in its actions, it must be equidistant from the party, and so on.

The objective of the party is to mobilize people, make them know its program which is reflected in the daily life of the Government, and so on. Then what happens? We define party objectives during conferences—district conferences or provincial conferences.

Previously, the first secretary of the party was also the district administrator or the provincial governor. Now that we have changed the method of internal organization, we are no longer tied to the State protocol, though this may seem insignificant. People have been accustomed to seeing things happen in a certain way and they always feel they should happen that way. They have always seen leaders being driven, and so on. Now, in their eyes, our party leader may not have the same authority as the previous one had, because at the end of a conference he may not be driven in a state car. They forget that previously the party and the State were one and the same thing. They say: You see, Frelimo has lost its power. The leader is no longer driven. He is seen driving a Mitsubishi or a Land Rover, that sort of thing. This is very important for the people. It is the Frelimo Party which continues to lead the government. This is the case worldwide. All parties want to be in power. All.

On the other hand, there are people in the government who would say: Well, to be impartial, to be equidistant from the party, I should no longer take part in party activities. One sees this type of attitude. But he forgets that he is in the government because his party won, that is, the party in power. This bears impact.

I believe what we are seeing at the present moment is not so much a lethargy in the party. Nor is it true that it is only now that I began to attend provincial committee meetings. It can be said that meetings do not signify that a party is functioning, and that it is perhaps now that we are trying to reanimate the party.

[DOMINGO] The Head of State is the President of all Mozambican people, whether they belong to Renamo, the Mozambique Democratic Party, the Mozambique United Front, and so on. What can one expect of a party whose President, who is simultaneously the Head of State, must always be the one to give explanation whenever his party is called upon to answer questions? You do not see the Secretary General. You do not see the Mobilization Secretary and you do not see the Propaganda Secretary. It is always the President of the Republic who is exposed. This confirms then that there is truly monolithism in the party, contrary to what you are trying to say. It is always the President of the Republic who comes forward. As Mozambicans, we feel that it is important to preserve the figure of the Head of State, and this wears down his figure. The Frelimo Party is doing nothing to preserve its figure. On the contrary... why? Does it not show that there is in fact paralysis when the Frelimo Party always resorts to the only emblematic leader that it has got?

[Tome] That is not the case. The Frelimo Party can operate extremely well and its president can express himself whenever he wishes. I believe the President is able whenever he wishes to say something about his party, to define its stand...

[DOMINGO] Perhaps that does not apply to the verbal warfare with the parties...

[Tome] ...to define the positions of his party, to clarify. I agree with that. But what I do not agree with is that the Frelimo chairman should not come forward because he is the head of state. But I agree when people say that other Frelimo officials should talk more often.

In a way there is an explanation for that. I think that the party is ridding itself of that. This is a process of changing attitudes. What happened before? In fact, before it was the leader who did the talking. That is, the comrade who talked had to have a mandate from his organ. So, this became the order of the day and for us to get rid of it, it is not only a question of saying: Comrades, now things are done this way. We have to tell the comrades in meetings and on different occasions that they have to start talking.

In reality, party officials at the various levels should come forward more often, provided that when they do so they have something important for the news media. Otherwise, one could risk issuing press releases which say nothing. I think that journalists themselves receive dozens of press releases from different parties and in order to show impartiality, they end up publishing things that often have no news value. Let us say that the officials of the different parties should come forward when an issue in question is of interest in their own area of responsibility or to the nation.

But that is an issue that was analyzed at the last session. Actually, the Central Committee report to the Sixth Congress, clearly defended the idea that party organs at all levels should clarify the Frelimo Party's position by issuing public statements through the news media or holding direct meetings with the people.

I think that we have continued with direct meetings with the people. We have been coming forward lately. Interviews are beginning to be given and statements made, though not in the degree that our militants would like to see. In view of the great impact of the news media, people would like to see it reflecting their mobilization and sensitization efforts, and so on.

[DOMINGO] Does the Frelimo Party not fear that by playing a passive defensive role it could lose touch with the grassroots? Does Frelimo not fear that the image of the president of the Republic will be worn down?

[Tome] I do not think we are letting the image of the president of the Republic's wear down. That is not the issue. We are not saying: Comrade President, we have not been able to state this or that. Go and talk, comrade president. That is not the case.

As I said, I think that there are issues that can only be clarified if the top leader speaks. I think that the question is not whether the president should talk. It is a question of other officials talking more often. I agree with you on that point.

Well, opinions are opinions and journalists believe that will wear down the image of the president and see it as a

sign that the party is paralyzed. People at the grass roots are working. It is true that now there are more difficulties than before because, after all Frelimo Party members are citizens who suffer the effects of the drought and the war. That is, when one says salaries are low, it also affects Frelimo Party members.

So, that is the type of member who instills vitality in Frelimo, though we cannot say that if one is a Frelimo Party member he will not suffer the effects of all those problems. Obviously, in certain cases we have party comrades who have decided to do this: Instead of working full-time for the party apparatus, we are going to work in farms and for the party on a part-time basis. We have to deal with our subsistence problems. In cases like this, it means that they are spending less time with the party. That is, those militants are still working with the same resolve because we feel that we have a great responsibility for being in power and also because we think that the future of this country ought to be built in a serious manner and with a great involvement.

As you may recall, at the last special session of the Central Committee, we issued a statement, saying that Frelimo Party members should be in the forefront of the process of national reconciliation, in the forefront of the process of resettling displaced persons and refugees returning home, in the forefront of the process of deepening democracy. We do not feel that this is an exclusive responsibility. After all, the other parties have responsibilities because they are Mozambican interested in promoting the country's development.

Probably, they think differently from Frelimo, and from what I have seen in a number of strategies, the difference is not that great. Yet, each party is what it is, although we feel that this is battle in which we all should be together.

We Are Ready For the Elections

Scheduled for October 1993, the elections issue was one of the "hot" themes of the interview with Manuel Tome. For the member of the Frelimo Secretariat, that party is ready for the elections whenever they are held.

[DOMINGO] If the UN secretary general's representative had asked Frelimo to propose a date for the elections, what would Frelimo say?

[Tome] I have an opinion about the whole question of dates. First, I ask myself whether really in these four months there were no actions aimed at causing the delays.

I think that every effort should be made so that elections are in fact held as scheduled because when the accords were signed all the factors were taken into account, namely advantages and disadvantages so that the polls could be held in October.

Unfortunately, it seems to me that after Mr. Aldo Ajello's statements that is not going to happen.

[DOMINGO] He suggests.

[Tome] Exactly, that is what he suggested. Clearly, one is beginning to seriously consider that date. I would, however, say that one would have to consider the pros and cons of a specific date and look at the whole process, what should be done and if there is time to...

[DOMINGO] That suggests that Frelimo was ready for elections this year.

[Tome] We are ready for everything.

[DOMINGO] Have you already started the election campaign?

[Tome] No, the election campaign is carried out publicly. Internally, we have begun to organize ourselves for the election campaign.

[DOMINGO] Would a possible postponement affect Frelimo or not?

[Tome] It would not. We are sufficiently organized. The only disadvantage that we have with these postponements is that they saturate people psychologically because people want to meet with one another and give what they can. We still have a number of things that are from the previous system, a government that has come from a one-party system while we are experiencing a multiparty situation. In fact, that is true, though that is not a question of operational measures. That is: As of now, this is a government that has come out of multiparty elections, this is an assembly that has come out of multiparty elections and so on.

So, one could say: Now, yes. The problems that we used to have are over, nobody wants to take revenge, nobody is going to deploy troops in a neighboring country as a precaution. Just look at what happened in Angola. They even held multiparty elections!

[DOMINGO] Do you believe that Frelimo will win the elections?

[Tome] Frelimo has the best conditions to win the elections. First, because it is the party that is better organized in the country. Second, because people continue to trust and respect the Frelimo Party. Third, because the Frelimo Party effectively has—and that could be due to historic reasons—the best qualified cadres and with governing experience.

[DOMINGO] Is that not excessive confidence?

[Tome] I have said that Frelimo is the party which has the best conditions to win the elections. We do not like to make gratuitous statements, to merely say that we are going to win... I believe there are six parties which have already said they will win the elections. I do not know on what they have based their statements. We have the best conditions, but we have to work for that.

[DOMINGO] But let us consider a situation in which Frelimo does not win the elections, that it loses. Does Frelimo accept that?

[Tome] We have not introduced multipartyism as a show off measure! We have introduced multipartyism and we will go right to the end with it. We feel that we are in a better position to rule, we feel that we are in a better position to run the country, we feel that we are the party which effectively is politically mature to once again take up the government leadership. So, even if they send shivers down my back, I would have to accept the results.

[DOMINGO] And if the opposite is the case: Frelimo wins and Renamo does not accept the election results?

[Tome] I think that Renamo has already pledged to accept the election results in case of defeat. So, whoever is the winner, Frelimo or any other party, Renamo has already publicly pledged to abide by the election results.

[DOMINGO] UNITA also made a pledge in Angola.

[Tome] But Renamo says it is not UNITA. I have trust in Mozambicans, at least in this regard.

[DOMINGO] Frelimo has said that it is organizing itself for the election campaign. In the case of Maringue, for instance, how is it going to campaign there if it is not allowed in?

[Tome] What we have to do is to effectively fight so that small Jambas do not crop up in Mozambique because that would mean that there is no democracy.

[DOMINGO] But Maringue is already a small Jamba. For instance, James Jonah was received by the head of state in Bilene because he was there on vacation. Afterward he had to fly to Maringue. Does that mean that the country has been divided into two: The area controlled by the government, the capital of which is Maputo, and the Renamo-controlled area with Maringue as the capital?

[Tome] I think it is clear in the Rome accords that this country only has one administration. A commission should have been established to deal, among other things, with the administration of areas under Renamo control. Now, that is not functioning. Neither that commission nor the others that are very important.

The encamping process has not been carried out and I think that that is one of the arguments Renamo uses: Well, the encamping has not been carried out because the commissions have not been established, there is no accommodation, no houses.

In fact, what has been happening so far is that in some areas controlled by Renamo the latter does not accept that that is a free national territory; that any party should operate there, to hold meetings, public gatherings. Any party should have the possibility of carrying out its campaign wherever it wants, everywhere. In Maringue, Gorongosa, Lichinga and so on. Every party has to have that possibility. If there are areas of Mozambique where other parties cannot hold political activities, that is a bad sign.

[DOMINGO] In which area will Frelimo center its campaign? In the rural areas or in urban centers?

[Tome] That is a strategic matter.

[DOMINGO] According to reports, Renamo is going to get money for his election campaign from South Africa and even Ian Smith. Where will Frelimo get the money for the election campaign?

[Tome] I have said that we were organizing ourselves for the election campaign. One of the aspects that we are tackling is precisely finances. It is necessary to work in order to generate money. Now, like any other party that enters a competition, nobody will publicly say how they are going to play and where they will prepare the food that will strengthen their participants. We cannot say that we are going to earn money in this or that way. Fine, our opponents will learn about everything. We will center our campaign in those areas. We are giving away our trump cards to our components. There are trump cards that we have to play from a distance.

[DOMINGO] It has been reported that Renamo enjoys potential support in central Mozambique. Do you agree with that?

[Tome] Has it been reported? By who?

[DOMINGO] It has been doing the rounds?

[Tome] But where?

[DOMINGO] In bars and restaurants.

[Tome] We have difficulties in operating on the basis of hearsay.

[DOMINGO] Perhaps the question could be rephrased. Will Renamo be a serious candidate and opponent? Or does Frelimo fear a candidate other than Renamo?

[Tome] Renamo is an opponent. It will be an opponent like any other one. In line with what we have done in the past, we will not underestimate any of the parties that will contest the elections. Moreover, we will always respect other parties.

[DOMINGO] Which is the area where Frelimo has its largest influence? Is it the area where Frelimo is supposed to score more votes?

[Tome] We have more than 20,000 cells scattered throughout the country.

[DOMINGO] Involving how many militants?

[Tome] 700,000, more or less.

[DOMINGO] That is, scattered in 15 percent of the Mozambican territory that Renamo says the government controls.

[Tome] When Renamo says that the Frelimo government only controls 15 percent of the Mozambican territory, does that mean that we are supposed to control

more or less Gaza and Maputo Provinces, and the rest is in Renamo hands? Please, comrades...

Let us not make statements like that because surely no one wishes to take part in debates of that nature. That is not plausible for any citizen who has his feet in this country and knows a bit of its geography.

Errors, Accusations and Insults. Ours Is a Serene Attitude.

Other aspects of the interview with Frelimo Secretariat member Manuel Jorge Tome dealt with the mistakes that the party has made over the past few years as well as the accusations and insults to which it has been subjected. Manuel Tome stated categorically that mistakes are meant to be corrected, and that Frelimo's attitude to the accusations and insults made against it is one of serenity and that usually the party does not pay back in kind.

[DOMINGO] People say that Frelimo has made many mistakes and has just acknowledged that the change in strategy was because its previous strategy was probably not the most suitable one for the real situation. What mistakes has Frelimo made?

[Tome] I do not think I should transform my interview into a Jewish and Christian process whereby people go to the confessional and say: Father, pardon me for my sins, and then go on to list all the mistakes.

I think that for anyone who follows the situation closely, more important than listing the mistakes is correcting those mistakes.

I would just like to say this: When we decided to change our strategy it was in order to adapt it to the real situation. That is, we say that we are a party for change that continuously adapts itself to the real society, tries to always adapt itself to the current situation and surely it has to correct the mistakes that are made along the way and during the process of analysis and planning.

I think that that is a great virtue. A party that is capable of noticing that it has concepts or strategies which are inadequate to a given moment, and that makes mistakes and changes. It is a struggle for ideas and we debate among ourselves how to reach our goals.

For instance, you know that during the time of President Samora we used to criticize in public about how we saw the role of state enterprises. We used to say that state enterprises should be concerned with major economic projects instead of selling...

[DOMINGO] Needles, for instance...?

[Tome] ...needles. They should be concerned with major projects instead of selling razor blades, needles and so on.

We started talking—I think it was in 1985 and 1986—about the liberalization of prices. Already, that was the embryo of all the processes that led us to a market

economy. If my memory serves me right, it started with the liberalization of the prices of produce. Let us say that it was the starting point for eliminating the major burden that centralization posed from a planning standpoint.

I am only giving a few examples.

[DOMINGO] Could not what you describe as a great virtue of the Frelimo Party also be interpreted as a sign of great weakness?

[Tome] Why?

[DOMINGO] In view of the fact that a party has made mistakes and is now trying to redeem itself without making too many waves.

[Tome] No, I do not think so. First, even the Vatican makes mistakes.

[DOMINGO] So, are we talking about the Vatican?

[Tome] The problem is not whether mistakes have been made, but whether it has been possible to detect them and go over them in order to correct them. I think that is what is most important. We ought to have that capacity all the time.

[DOMINGO] Another question: Does the Frelimo Party accept the existence of trends within itself?

[Tome] No, let me finish answering your question. You were the ones who asked me if it was a sign of weakness. I think that it is a sign of grandeur. I should tell you that we are not presumptuous about... Please, you should also take stock of the effort that this party has made in order to keep this country standing. They wanted to split the country in two and failed. They wanted to destroy Mozambique and make it ungovernable...

[DOMINGO] Who? Renamo?

[Tome] I did not say that...

[DOMINGO] Are you afraid to say the name Renamo?

[Tome] Let me finish and then I will tell you. They wanted to take the country by force. Now, I would say that about April 1992, the Kenyan Government was informed by the Renamo leadership that it was convinced that it would take Maputo by force and that it would be better to drag the talks on because it was in fact going to be taken...

[DOMINGO] Are you accusing the Kenyan Government?

[Tome] I am not accusing the Kenyan Government.

[DOMINGO] What did Frelimo do on the occasion?

[Tome] I am talking about facts. You can interpret it the way you want but facts are facts.

[DOMINGO] They wanted to divide, they wanted to destroy, they wanted to take by force. Who exactly?

[Tome] You do not know who was waging war?

[DOMINGO] Yes, we know. But Frelimo cannot pronounce the name Renamo? Or Frelimo ...

[Tome] I have already said that I am part of the party leadership that is in power. I cannot say that other parties should have the same stand as ours. We have sufficient capacity to withstand insults. At times, we are insulted. They tell lies about us, and so on, and we do not try to disprove each and every lie. We continue to display the same attitude of seriousness and calmness, and so on. We would like to see this peace process go to the end.

[DOMINGO] Do you mean you would jeopardize the peace process by responding to insults, accusations?

[Tome] We will not trade insults with anybody. Should anyone insult us, we will give an example of civilized behavior, seriousness, and good manners.

[DOMINGO] Are you not afraid that such behavior will be seen as a sign of weakness?

[Tome] No, we are not afraid of that. I think virtue is virtue. Whoever knows how to talk should also know when to do so. You should not always be rattling on...

[DOMINGO] And this is not the right time for Frelimo to talk, then?

[Tome] Talk about what?

[DOMINGO] The accusations made by Renamo and other parties.

[Tome] But we have already talked on a number of occasions about those attempts to destroy and divide the country. We have said that time and again and I am virtually repeating myself now. Perhaps we had never talked about this attempt...

[DOMINGO] ...To divide the country.

[Tome] No, not division as such, but rather this attempt to take the city of Maputo, in such detail.

[DOMINGO] Well, we would like to ask whether Frelimo admits within the party the right to have a leaning, on the following basis: Yesterday, there were Marxist-Leninists in the party and none of them is rumored to have died. They may well have organized as group pursuing a certain leaning within the party?

[Tome] We are a pluralist party. I do not think a pluralist party necessarily has organized leanings in its midst. We accept that our members follow various ideological tendencies. We must see this entire process as one of development and I think that to jump about represents a major risk.

I even believe that there is the need for unity within a party. Organized tendencies sometimes have their own leaders and turn a party into a front, rather than allow it to remain a party.

[DOMINGO] So, Frelimo is not a front?

[Tome] Frelimo? Frelimo is a party. It was a front once.

[DOMINGO] There has been a war in Mozambique. There are a million dead to lament. There is a country that has been destroyed and another yet to be rebuilt. The blame must be laid at someone's doorstep. Renamo says it is not completely responsible for the genocide. What are your conclusions, Mr. Secretary?

[Tome] That Renamo should wish to clean up its own image, I think is only legitimate and must be part of Renamo's own aims. It has to clean up its image, but that does not mean we must agree to its rejecting its responsibility... I think it is one responsibility that has to be assumed. We do not need to return to those things because are involved in a process of reconciliation. A process of reconciliation means exactly that.

[DOMINGO] Must the process of reconciliation mean that 1 million dead Mozambicans must be forgotten?

[Tome] No, the process of reconciliation means that we are not going to have a process of revenge in the country in the future. It means that we will agree to work hand in hand to rebuild the nation. That does not mean, though, that history must be altered. It does not mean we must falsify history.

[DOMINGO] Does that mean that Renamo is to blame for everything that has happened?

[Tome] Perhaps you should put your question differently.

[DOMINGO] The Renamo secretary general has said his movement was not solely responsible for the 1 million dead. He said Frelimo also carries a share of the blame. Is this true?

[Tome] If he is able to prove it... It is not enough simply to claim that Frelimo troops killed people. It must be proved. The U.S. State Department has issued a report saying that while the Mozambican Army committed abuses, Renamo carried out massacres.

I believe that Renamo wants to clean up its image. Let it do so, but it must at least behave loyally. Nobody is going back into history, not even people who pick up the paper and see bridges that were destroyed by war. I know of no bridge that was destroyed by Frelimo troops. I know of no school that was destroyed by the government army. Nonetheless, you can see all that in the paper. It shows destroyed bridges and schools. It shows pictures and all that. So, let us make an historical analysis, but let us not be false about this issue. Facts are facts. Let us respect that. We must be an honest country. We must be

a country that, having emerged from a war, is now going forward without complexes.

Because, if we are going ahead beset by complexes and with the past biting at our heels, we shall forever carry trauma and resentment about us.

In any event, when someone appears before the tribunal of one's own conscience but does not wish to be sentenced, then that someone will seek one's own internal defense lawyer. What that someone will not have will be a prosecutor.

[DOMINGO] Mr. Secretary: We do not know whether you are aware that Renamo is paying 25 contos [1 conto equals 1,000 meticals] to each person who joins the movement in two of the northern provinces. In certain areas, whole villages have already registered with Renamo. My first question is: Is Frelimo aware of this? Second, is Frelimo not afraid that Renamo's strategy will work to Frelimo's disadvantage?

[Tome] I must confess that I am not aware of that. What I know is that...

[DOMINGO] This has been happening in Nampula and Niassa...

[Tome] What I know is that in Nampula it is not 25,000 meticals, because the local population do not have 25,000 to pay for registration...

[DOMINGO] No, no, no. They do not pay, they receive 25,000 meticals.

[Tome] Be that as it may, I am not aware of anything of the kind. In truth, that can very easily happen. In Sofala Province, for instance, they hold meetings then distribute meat among those who attend. Many people go there, receive a list where they jot down their names so they can then collect their meat. Those who want meat get their meat and leave. Their name is there.

Renamo is present in our society as a movement which must not be impeded from existing as a movement. I think Renamo is able to buy the names of people to be their members, but will not be able to buy their votes.

Our concern is that people should be clear about this. We would like every citizen to cast his ballot fully aware of what he is doing. Citizens must vote for whomever they please, but they must be very conscious of what they are doing. They must not be coerced into voting. They must not vote because they are afraid. There have been instances in Africa where people have had to vote with the specter of a threat looming over them. Unfortunately, there is a high rate of illiteracy in our country. People think there are witch doctors who can see for whom the people are voting.

[DOMINGO] What about abroad? In Portugal, for example, Renamo has been carrying out a powerful

mobilization drive and many students are joining the movement. Is this not a source of concern to the Frelimo Party?

[Tome] The point is as follows: These parties are on the ground and, as such, they have the right to have members. It is entirely up to them whether they are using loyal or disloyal means to secure their members. In my opinion, that is a regrettable situation for those people who are being mobilized by such means.

[DOMINGO] We do not think Frelimo should pay 100 contos to each registered member, but what if it could penetrate Renamo-controlled areas and attract people by means of an honest campaign, for instance?

[Tome] I think finding members is one thing, but not all voters are party members. There are millions of voters in this country and no one will be able to fork out 25 contos to each voter. The fundamental thing is that each voter must trust in the party for which he is voting. Obviously, it is also important to see what each party has to offer the electorate.

[DOMINGO] Is Frelimo prepared to become the opposition, should it be defeated at the polls?

[Tome] Quite clearly so. Absolutely. We have been saying that, despite being confident in a victory, there could be a different outcome to the elections. In other words, whenever one enters a competition one should be prepared for any outcome: Anything is possible. We may say: How did we come to suffer this defeat? Nonetheless, it is a possibility.

[DOMINGO] We ask this question because there is a common feeling that President Chissano deserves the post of head of state. The same cannot be said, however, about Frelimo. Some people even say that if Frelimo contested elections without Joaquim Chissano it would be in for surprises. Do you agree with that?

[Tome] I do not. What I can say is that it is true that the figure of the head of state is unblemished. From Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva to Nelson Mandela, all have used the most complimentary words for President Chissano. Our party is good. Its President is the best. Now, the task of governing a country is always bestowed on the party in power. What I can say is that in terms of vote percentage, the president will obtain more votes than Frelimo. Everyone is aware of that. As a matter of fact, in an opinion poll that was made—it included many party members—President Chissano had about 60 percent of the votes.

We are convinced that Frelimo will obtain the number of votes that conforms with its dedication and its continued eagerness to resolve the people's problems and to lead this country to progress.

[DOMINGO] How do you then justify this disparity of votes between the president and the party, taking into account that President Chissano bears all the responsibility for leading the nation?

[Tome] The head of an institution represents in fact the institution itself. The institution can commit mistakes and he can bear the responsibility from the viewpoint of the public, because he leads the institution and not because of his personal conduct, in that the figure of the president is unblemished.

[DOMINGO] This clearly means that Frelimo is completely dependent on President Chissano?

[Tome] By the way, why is Chissano the party chairman? It is precisely because of his conduct.

[DOMINGO] Can one exclude the possibility of Frelimo forming a coalition with the Mozambique Democratic Party, the Mozambique Federal Party, the Mozambique United Front-Democratic Convergence and National Reconstruction Party, the Mozambican Nationalist Movement, or even Renamo?

[Tome] No, we do not exclude that possibility. We only feel that it is of no interest at this moment. Coalitions are made in the face of a determined political situation or concrete voters' trends. At this moment, we do not see the need to consider this possibility.

[DOMINGO] Does Frelimo feel that if it wins the elections it will rule alone?

[Tome] If Frelimo wins the elections, it will form a government accountable to Frelimo. That means that it will necessarily be a government made up of Frelimo members only. If by chance we form a coalition with other parties—I have already said this possibility has not been considered—the government to be formed would be accountable to the coalition. This would not necessarily mean that the members of the government would have to be members of the coalition parties, although this could be the case.

There is also the feeling that there is a need to form a government of national unity. The parties will be sufficiently represented in parliament. This would be tantamount to nullifying the importance of votes in an electoral process, leading to the conclusion that elections are not necessary, and that the Government would be formed on the basis of the number of votes ... and so on. If that is the case, then, let the parties propose that in the electoral law, so as to form a government of national unity.

Frelimo knows that national unity is dear. National unity is one of our major goals.

Renamo's Ululu Reacts to Tome Accusations

MB1403160093 Maputo DOMINGO in Portuguese 28 Feb 93 p 11

[Communique issued by Vicente Ululu, secretary general of the Mozambique National Resistance, in Maputo on 23 February]

[Text] We have received from the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] the following communique—signed by its Secretary General Vicente Ululu—in response to the interview given to this weekly by Manuel Tome, a member of Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party Central Committee Secretariat:

In the 21 February edition of DOMINGO, Mr. Manuel Tome, a member of the FRELIMO Party Central Committee Secretariat, insisted that Renamo was responsible for the death of 1 million Mozambicans during the war. He also spoke about the buying of members by Renamo.

Regarding the first point, we would like to remind him and make him understand that the war broke out in Mozambique because FRELIMO decided to impose Marxism on the Mozambican people by force of arms. It was therefore Frelimo itself which created conditions for the establishment of Renamo. It was Frelimo that brought Marxism from the former Soviet Union to Mozambique, not Renamo. People should understand this.

In 1982 Renamo contacted Frelimo on holding peaceful negotiations to end the war. Frelimo responded with violence, swearing that it would never talk to "armed bandits". It chose the total elimination of Renamo as the only way to resolve the issue. Accordingly, it invited foreign special forces from the former USSR, Cuba, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Zambia, and Malawi to join hands with Mozambican forces to realize its premeditated plans.

As its efforts failed and Frelimo was defeated in the field, after heavy human and material losses and a weakened economy, worsened by the fall of the Soviet bloc, Frelimo had no other alternative than to agree to talks with Renamo, which meant that it recognized its past mistakes.

Frelimo is solely to blame for the war and consequently for the damage caused, for had it agreed to hold talks with Renamo as pointed out earlier, the worst would have been avoided.

Frelimo later agreed to hold talks with Renamo. This meant that it was wrong to refuse to hold talks with it. Why does it only recognize the mistake after so much damage? Renamo therefore denies any responsibility for the damage caused and fully blames Frelimo for it.

Regarding the mentioned deaths, Renamo does not have helicopters, Antonov's, MiG's, combat vehicles, BTRs, BRDM-2s, BM-21s, T-34 tanks, long-range guns, 500 kg bombs, as well as other bombs directed against defenseless people in our areas as a retaliatory action for their support for Renamo in the struggle against Marxism.

People know very well who invited foreign forces into Mozambique—forces which came armed to the teeth to inflict death on defenseless civilians.

Renamo was never responsible for the establishment of reeducation camps where thousands of people died

without justification. Renamo has never had any political police which at night killed an unspecified number of people who did not agree with Marxism. What is more, politicians who fought for national liberation like Urias Simango, Father Guengere, Lazaro Kavandame, and others who right from the beginning tried to exercise multipartyism in Mozambique, were purely and simply eliminated without pity.

Renamo is not responsible for the massacres it is accused of because on the occasion, PRESIDENT AFONSO DHLAKAMA asked PRESIDENT CHISSANO to establish a commission of inquiry to investigate them but he never replied.

Renamo could never have drawn up a premeditated plan to kill civilians, because that would have nullified the significance of its struggle and objectives. What is more, Renamo needs civilians to obtain votes. They constitute its main source of sustenance. They created logistical conditions for Renamo and provided it with valuable information during the war.

Regarding the second point, Renamo does not need to buy members because the people know very well who liberated them from the Marxist yoke. If they join Renamo today, they do it freely and consciously. Only those who did wrong need to buy votes from the people to make them forget the past.

[Issued] Maputo, 23 February 1993.

[Signed] Renamo Secretary General Vicente Zacarias Ululu

Swaziland

Arms Smuggling Increases in Lubombo Region

MB1503083093 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER in English 15 Mar 93 pp 1,3

[By Thulani Mthethwa]

[Text] The smuggling of arms is on the increase in the Lubombo Region. The merchants of death are now using Siteki instead of Lomahasha Border Post to bring in an assortment of these deadly weapons.

This was established over the weekend when THE SWAZI OBSERVER visited the area. It was discovered that because of the tight security at Lomahasha Border Post, arms smugglers are evading the official border entry and instead have created an opening along the border fence separating Swaziland and Mozambique.

The arms smuggled into the country are then sold for about E[Emalangeni]200 each in areas like Maphungwane, Mhlabubovu and Shewula, in the Lubombo Region and in Manzini City, while some are loaded into long distance lorries destined for South Africa. Veterinary Officials in the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives who are stationed at the Foot-and-Mouth checkpoint at Lukhula, outside Siteki, allege that occasionally during their searches they have come across vehicles

loaded with arms, but since their duties are confined to checking meat, they did not arrest the arms culprits.

In an interview at the weekend, veterinary officers said there has been an increase of illegal arms passing through the foot-and-mouth checkpoint.

They disclosed that in a week, three to four cars with Mozambican and South African registration numbers pass through the check point loaded with an assortment of weapons.

The arms, according to the officers, are loaded under car seats, boots, and in specially built compartments in the vehicles.

They stated that they were very apprehensive about the new developments in the area where the merchants of death have found to be a "safe" route in their nocturnal arms dealing business. "After seeing the arms in some of these cars with foreign registration, we normally abandoned our search for fear of being shot at by the smugglers," one of the officers said.

"It is very difficult because we cannot confiscate the arms because we do not have the authority to do so and in the process, we let them pass through," he said.

They also stated that they have also been placed in an awkward position after members of the Umbutfo Swaziland Defence Force (USDF) abandoned its operations at the checkpoint.

"Since they stopped the joint search of the red meat and weapons, arms smuggling has sky-rocketed," they said.

Police spokesman, Inspector Azariah Ndzimandze, however, said yesterday that the smuggling of arms has not been reported to the police by the veterinary officers.

He urged members of the public to use the after hours police hot-line (46373) to inform the police if they come across such incidents of arms smuggling. Insp Ndzimandze promised and vowed that police would not leave any stone unturned in an effort to put a stop to the smuggling of weapons via Siteki.

Police Find Arms Cache at Lomahasha 16 Mar

MB1803115593 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER in English 18 Mar 93 pp 1, 3

[Report by Bhekie Matsebula: "Arms Cache Found at Lomahasha"]

[Excerpt] The army on Tuesday [16 March] confiscated an AK-47 assault rifle, 48 rounds of ammunition and two magazines of an AK-47 assault rifle calibre at Lomahasha.

But the owner of the gun and ammunition managed to elude the soldiers who were on patrol along the border line and escaped into Mozambique.

Army spokesman, Captain Gcina Shabangu confirmed the incident yesterday, adding that the man is suspected to be one of the armed robbers who have caused a reign of terror at Lomahasha robbing people of their valuables.

He said the suspicion emanated from the fact that among the items which were abandoned by the man, whose nationality could not be established, were balaclavas.

This brings to four the number of AK-47 assault rifles to be apprehended by the army within two weeks.

Last week, soldiers who were manning a roadblock at Maphiveni arrested three South Africans after they were found with three AK-47 rifles which were hidden beneath the drivers seat of the car they were driving in. [passage omitted]

Taiwanese Ambassador Appeals for Closer Ties

MB1603141993 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 16 Mar 93 pp 1, 32

[Report by Gordon Mbuli: "Taiwan Asks for Closer Ties"]

[Text] The Chinese Ambassador, Mr Enti Liu has appealed for closer ties between the Republic of China and Swaziland in the next coming years.

Mr Liu made this appeal yesterday after touring the Avolitchi and Entuthwini farms, which are owned by Tisuka Taka-Ngwane [Natural Heritage of Swaziland—Swazi National Development Agency].

The agricultural projects that are undertaken in both farms are operated by the Chinese Agricultural mission.

The tour by the Chinese delegation has been triggered by the arrival last week of a delegation from Communist mainland China.

The delegation is reported to have made numerous offers of investment in Swaziland.

Government and Tibiyo Taka-Ngwane [Minerals of Swaziland—Swazi National Development Agency] are said to be keen on the offers.

Among the people who attended the field trip to the farms were: Mr Ben Nsibandze, chairman of Tisuka Taka-Ngwane, and Prince Themba, deputy general manager of Tisuka.

Mr Liu said Swaziland and China have both countries should work towards strengthening the relationship. [sentence as published]

Mr Nsibandze told Mr Liu that Tisuka was founded in 1976 by King Sobhuza II as a national agency to spearhead economic development parallel with government efforts, with special responsibilities prioritising housing and food production.

"The founding base to achieve these objectives, was to be the reinvestment of funds accruing to the Swazi nation from mineral royalties."

Mr Nsibandze said agriculture, which is the backbone of every country, is of considerable importance to Swaziland.

"In this respect, it was no surprise that His Majesty King Sobhuza II turned to friends of Swaziland in the form of the Republic of China, who responded positively.

"We are proud to say that the Chinese since their arrival in Swaziland, not only assisted Tisuka Taka-Ngwane, but also extended their expertise to all Swazis, at grass-roots level by establishing projects in all the four regions of the country, in order to make accessible the best agricultural technology to all the Swazis.

"In fact, we can say with confidence that it is our belief that their efforts have had a great impact in putting the target for maize self sufficiency, the stable [as published] food of Swaziland in sight."

Mr Nsibandze also expressed Tisuka's appreciation for the support that the Republic of China has been to this country, over many years, through series of natural disasters.

"In fact, we believe that were it not for the wise counsel of friends of Swaziland, in particular, the Chinese people, our country would not have successfully recovered from the cyclone domoina in 1984, and more recently, the current protracted drought which gripped Swaziland last year up to this year."

Mr Nsibandze remembered that two weeks ago, King Mswati III commanded the Swazi nation to explore all avenues to translate what they have learnt from the development process so far, into viable business ventures, stressing the need for Swazi people to be encouraged to take the risk of business not only so that Swazis share the national cake of wealth generated by their country, but also, so that they take the challenge to drive the development of their country by participating more in the economy. "We at Tisuka wish to re-confirm our commitment to the relationship with the people of China which has been most fruitful to all Swazis."

Zambia

Rioting, Looting Vendors Stone Police, Smash Windows

*MB1803114093 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1109 GMT 18 Mar 93*

[Text] Lusaka March 18 SAPA—Rioting and looting vendors in Lusaka's business district on Thursday [18 March] morning stoned city police and smashed shop windows in retaliation for what they claimed was "unfair competition" by shopkeepers.

Shopowners quickly shut their businesses and frightened commuters boarded passing buses and minibuses without giving their destinations a thought.

Riot police quickly brought the protesters under control and by 11 AM it was business as usual. Many Asian-owned shops remained closed, however.

The ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy accused the opposition United National Independence Party of stirring up the riot to discredit the government.

Zimbabwe

Mozambique Embassy Protests Deportation of Citizens

*MB1703121693 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 0900 GMT 17 Mar 93*

[Text] The Mozambican Embassy to Zimbabwe has vehemently protested the fact that the Zimbabwean authorities deported 85 [number as heard] Mozambican citizens on 12 March without prior communication. They are 47 Mozambicans who have been granted amnesty in terms of clemency measures benefitting more than 3,800 foreigners. Those measures were announced by Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe two weeks ago.

(Dennis Sichaka), a Zimbabwe immigration official, said those 47 citizens were in jail on robbery and homicide charges.

Burkina Faso**President, German Deputies Discuss Development***AB1703163393 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 16 Mar 93*

[Text] The president this afternoon granted audience to a 12-man German parliamentary delegation. The deputies say they came to visit Burkina and to discuss bilateral cooperation. Their spokesman, Mr. Peter von Gunter, talked to Lamou Saragou.

[Begin von Gunter recording in German, fading into English translation] We have just held discussions with the Burkinabe president on the development achieved by Burkina Faso these past few years. We arrived in your country two days ago and I must say personally that I knew Burkina Faso back in the seventies, and we are very much impressed by the progress achieved under the leadership of the current president. I think we can also say that you Burkinabes should be very proud of your country and the development it has achieved.

We believe there are two particularly important aspects of cooperation, namely: the already-existing cooperation in the area of military engineering, which has already proved itself. We are therefore going to try to promote this cooperation in the future in order to continue this form of assistance as well as promote projects that help the Burkinabe people. The second aspect of cooperation, which is also very important, is the ongoing administrative reform in your country. We are also quite ready to assist you in this reform process. Since there is an exemplary democratization process here, we will do all we can to support the process. [end recording]

Guinea-Bissau**Presidential Guard Commander Killed; Military Patrols Capital***LD1703230793 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe 2200 GMT 17 Mar 93*

[Report by Bissau correspondent Fernando Pereira; first paragraph announcer-read introduction]

[Text] A close aide to Guinean President Nino Vieira was shot dead earlier today on the premises of the presidency. There has been no official communique, and there are those who believe there may have been an attempted coup:

[Pereira] Bissau remains in shock after tonight's shooting at the Presidency of the Council of State which left a presidential guard officer dead. The officer who lost his life is Major Robalo, commander of the Rapid Deployment Force—FIR—a kind of praetorial guard to the head of state created two years ago and composed of some 30 men. There has been no official communique on the incident, but there are rumors that the person who shot Maj. Robalo escaped. Maj. Robalo was a close

associate of President Nino Vieira. It is also known that a firefight took place at the FIR barracks in Alto de Bandim, on the outskirts of Bissau. As to the cause of the incidents, the early version was of a settlement of accounts among soldiers, but the reason may be more serious and the possibility of an attempted coup should not be ruled out, as suggested by the presence of military patrols in key Bissau locations.

Attempted Coup 'Confirmed'*LD1703234993 Lisbon Radio Renascenca in Portuguese to Europe 2300 GMT 17 Mar 93*

[Report by Bissau correspondent Fernando Pereira]

[Text] Tension has risen greatly in Guinea-Bissau following official confirmation that there has been a coup attempt against President Nino Vieira. There are military vehicles patrolling the streets, and a deceptive calm reigns for the moment.

Sources close to the regime have confirmed that the military incidents in Bissau were, in effect, the result of an attempted coup d'etat against General Nino Vieira.

Troops loyal to the regime are believed to have the plotters surrounded at the Santa Luzia General Headquarters and have stopped traffic in the area, where Guinea-Bissau Experimental Television is also located.

The residences of many high-ranking military officers have also been cordoned off by troops. The situation is quite calm in Bissau, and so far neither national radio nor television have made any reference to the incidents in the course of which Major Robalo, commander of the Rapid Deployment Force, the head of state's praetorial guard, lost his life.

Reliable sources say that Maj. Robalo, regarded as a loyal supporter of President Vieira, died after being shot three times in the head.

Nigeria**Babangida Receives Renamo President, Promises Troops***AB1703121093 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 16 Mar 93*

[Text] Nigeria has promised to send troops to the United Nations peacekeeping force in Mozambique once the go-ahead is given by the world body. President Ibrahim Babangida said this today while receiving the president of Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, Mr. Afonso Dhlakama, in Abuja. State House correspondent, P. Alabi has more on the story.

[Begin recording] The visit of Renamo president was to solicit two things from President Babangida. He wants General Babangida to send a delegation to the Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano to keep to the peace accord signed recently, as well as put pressure on the

United Nations to send a peacekeeping force to Mozambique, not only to keep the peace but also supervise the elections next year. The president gave positive responses to the request.

Mr. Dhlakama said there can never be free and fair elections in Mozambique unless the Chissano government gives Renamo the attention it deserves. President Babangida had congratulated the Mozambican people for the cessation of hostilities between President Chissano's government and Renamo. The president said Nigeria would assist towards lasting peace and meaningful development in Mozambique. [end recording]

Babangida Assures Diplomats of Improved Security Steps

AB1403130593 Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English
1030 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Commentary by Ishola Dada]

[Text] One important thing that makes an environment good for work and residence is security—security of the people working in an environment, and security of the environment itself. Therefore, when a secure atmosphere exists, there will be peace and harmony and, consequently, productivity. In the case of the diplomatic community, the issue of security assumes greater importance. This is because the issue of security goes beyond the establishment of a good working atmosphere. It also touches on the political and sociocultural stability of the country to which the foreign diplomats are accredited. Therefore, any breach of the security in the diplomatic community is bound to affect the relationship between the diplomats' countries of origin and the countries to which they are accredited.

Recognizing this, and the need for good relations between countries, Nigeria is taking measures to ensure that the right atmosphere for such relations that continue to be cordial exist. Nigeria's stand on this issue is grounded on the fact that diplomats serving within its borders need the right atmosphere, and correct psychological frame of mind to be able to carry out the duties, which they owe not only to their respective countries, but also to their host countries.

Unfortunately in Nigeria in the recent past, there have been some incidents that threatened the security of some diplomats. Such incidents have been roundly condemned by Nigerians, and the Nigerian Government, and steps have been taken to redress the situation. All these are aimed at ensuring the continuity and sustenance of good relations between Nigerians and other nations of the world, and above all, the security of the envoys. In this connection, the police are already taking action, and in fact, the unit of the police specially set up for the protection of diplomats in Nigeria is being beefed up. This is in compliance with the obligation which Nigeria, like all other countries, owes its diplomatic community.

As a further proof of Nigeria's determination to protect the diplomatic community, President Ibrahim Babangida has reassured the diplomats of the government's desire to provide adequate and sustained security for them. Not only this, the president has promised that the recent incident in Lagos, in which some diplomats were victims, will be investigated. In all these, Nigeria's main concern is hinged on its desire to consolidate the existing friendship with the countries accrediting diplomats to its shores.

Though Nigeria is not the only country beset by the problem of security of the diplomatic community, the various actions it has taken in recent times are evidences of its desire to ensure that the country is a safe place for the diplomats to perform their duties, unhindered in any way.

University Staff Unions Agree To Suspend Strike

AB1603130593 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 0600 GMT 16 Mar 93

[Text] A six-point agreement aimed at resolving the crisis in Nigerian universities has been reached by the Federal Government, leaders of the Senior Staff Association of the universities, and the Nonacademic Staff Union. The meeting presided over by the secretary of education and youth development, Professor Ben Nwabueze, agreed that the industrial action by the two unions should be suspended by Friday [19 March] this week. It reaffirmed the decision of the Federal Government that there should be one unified salary structure for academic and nonacademic staff of the universities and other tertiary institutions. The meeting also referred the issue of salary disparity to the Salaries and Wages Commission for consideration based on job evaluation.

Senegal

President To Send Additional Troops to Casamance

AB1703185693 Paris AFP in English 1836 GMT
17 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Dakar, March 17 (AFP) - Senegalese President Abdou Diouf announced Wednesday [17 March] that he was sending more troops to the troubled southern province of Casamance, where separatist activity has left 400 people dead in six months.

Two Senegalese soldiers were killed on Sunday and a third wounded during clashes between troops and gunmen suspected of belonging to a renegade armed wing of the Casamance Movement of Democratic Forces (MFDC), informed sources said Wednesday.

The incident happened at Badem, about 20 kilometres (12 miles) from the provincial capital Ziguinchor, when an army control stumbled across a camp set up by armed men.

Afterwards, troops and planes searched the region, the sources said.

Diouf said the reinforcements were being sent although the "elements of possible and constructive dialogue with soldiers" existed.

"We continue to talk to all the protagonists in this drama and guarantee the security of the people, notably by reinforcing troops," Diouf said, stressing that the killers were in a minority. [passage omitted]

Togo

COD-II Invites International Community to Talks

*AB1403132593 Lome Radio Lome in French
1900 GMT 13 Mar 93*

[Communique issued by the Collective of Democratic Opposition-II on 11 March]

[Text] The Collective of Democratic Opposition II [COD-II] has reacted to the Inter-Christian Dialogue's call on 9 March. We have received a statement, signed by Leopold Gnininvi, COD-II chairman, which reads as follows:

The COD-II followed with interest the call by the association known as Inter-Christian Dialogue on 9 March, aimed at restoring dialogue between all the sides involved in the Togolese crisis. COD-II will bear this initiative in mind. It also reaffirms its readiness to

participate in all discussions to find a global and lasting solution to this serious crisis that the country is currently facing. It is, however, of the opinion that the international community must be involved in discussions right from the beginning in order to ensure that decisions taken during discussions are strictly enforced.

To this end, COD-II calls for a preliminary meeting to be held as soon as possible to lay down the conditions that would form the basis for the main discussions. One French representative, one German representative, one U.S. representative, one EEC representative, one Economic Community of West African States representative, representatives of the presidential group, as well as COD-II representatives should be invited to the preliminary meeting. The number of representatives from the COD-II and the presidential group will be decided by mutual agreement.

This preliminary meeting should be held at a place where security measures are guaranteed for all participants. The presidential group, which has always reiterated its wish for dialogue, naturally understands that a new deadlock has to be avoided. This is why preparation for discussions at all levels should involve the international community [word indistinct] to guarantee the strict and effective implementation of accords that might be reached at meetings.

Issued in Lome on 11 March

[Signed] Professor Leopold Gnininvi, the current COD-II chairman, for COD-II.

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